RESIGNIFICATIONS OF FESTIVITIES AND COMMUNITY IDENTITIES
RESSIGNIFICAÇÕES DA FESTA E IDENTIDADES COMUNITÁRIAS

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"It's ours!" cry the *Bugios,* or Christians, at the São João Festival in Sobrado, leaping joyously. It is unclear what they are referring to – the image of Saint John, for which they are fighting the *Mourisqueiros* (Moors), or the festival itself. Whichever it may be, we can say with certainty that the festival is experiencing a period of affirmation, bringing with it the challenge of redefinition. Just as important as the festival itself, its symbolism and ritual, are the groups that take part. Therefore, the study of festivals today requires us to immerse ourselves in the communities that observe them, for whom *"their"* festival is not merely a *tradition,* but a statement of identity and a community celebration, to which considerable resources (materials, time and money) are devoted.

Globally and throughout history, festivities, in all their exuberance and diversity, have emerged as a universal element of culture, connected by three points: the sacred, the collective and time. Derived from the Latin *festus,* a holiday devoted to religious celebration, festivals are, directly or indirectly, associated with the sacred. From pilgrimages to fertility rituals, to Christmas and Easter celebrations, festivals are a means of commemorating and giving thanks to the Gods and garnering future blessings. And because the very notion of sacred is connected to that of secular, as the two terms are defined by the opposition existing between them, the secular festival also brushes with transcendence by hypostasizing the group taking part. Émile Durkheim (1985/1912) suggested analysing celebrations in terms of the collective effervescence they generate. By this, he meant the inebriation resulting from the togetherness of a group that prays, dances, sings and makes music together, acting in unison, its component parts dissolving into the whole. This is a process of actualisation for the community which, according to Durkheim, worships itself when it worships its *totems.* In other words, in its unity, it makes itself sacred. If we accept this conclusion, the sacred is not absent from secular celebrations; on the contrary, it exists in the exaltation of the group, in the emotional exaltation that festive rituals generate.

In this sense, the sacred is, sociologically speaking, inseparable from *communio,* fellowship within the group reflecting fellowship between the human and the sacred. As an extraordinary moment in which time, rules and hierarchies are suspended and the everyday order of things is replaced by ritualistic order, festivals constitute a time and a space that may only be experienced together, and, for this reason, they reinvigorate the collective. Today, as in the past, in many spheres of public life, there is a clear need to be and to act together, to forge the spirit of togetherness achieved through mass events and gatherings (Maffesoli, 1988). This is also the purpose of festivals: to forge a community through the subtle movements of those who sew costumes; the skill of those rehearsing music, chant, dance and drama; the honesty of fundraisers; the pleasure of sharing a table; the figure of the saint carried, and the fulfilment of the promises made to it; the complicity in rule-breaking and transgression; the emotion of sharing moments of work, play, pleasure and pain. The festival also marks the symbolic boundary between insiders and outsiders. It is a marker of identity that strengthens the sense of belonging to a place, a group, a nation, a religion (Leal, 2016).

A third connection is between festivals and time. If we consider time to be cyclical, festivals are the axial points that mark its repetition: the seasons, natural and agricultural cycles, holidays, holy feasts and anniversaries. While festivals are inherently cyclical, they also exist within chronological time and possess historical depth. As such, they are now analysed and experienced as cultural heritage and protected for their traditional value (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Guiu, 2008). Many more recent festivals, in particular, which are almost always secular, are dedicated to evoking the past, its myths, heroes, resentments and ways of life. This is the past as created in the present, almost always through re-enactment or simulation, offering countless opportunities for the burgeoning memory, cultural heritage and leisure "industries" (Baudrillard, 1991; Gillis, 1994). These pasts, some remote, others still in collective living memory, are used in the present, be this to forge a sense of belonging and identity, to erect a barrier against global culture (Lipovetsky & Serroy, 2010), as a show of resistance by minorities and repressed groups, or, more commonly, as merchandise.

This gives rise to one of the most challenging issues in contemporary festive studies: the opposition between tradition and modernity (Canclini, 2003; Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1997). When tradition is evoked in the present day, we know from the outset that it is a reinterpreted version. In other words, tradition becomes the legitimising discourse for a myriad of expressions with origins in popular culture, which, as they do not belong to the canons of modern rationality, are justified reflexively. The technological, economic, social and axiological systems having changed, the *praxis* of tradition now serves only as a symbolic counterpoint to modernity, a vestige of an "authenticity" threatened with extinction or contamination. According to Jean Pouillon (1975, pp. 159-160), tradition is a

> retro-projection: we choose what we say we are determined by; we present ourselves as the heirs of those we have made our predecessors. (...) to define a tradition we must go from the present to the past and not vice versa.

> (...) the march of tradition goes against the biological hereditary principle
> but is often modelled on it. In fact, tradition is an inverted filiation: the son
> in this case begets the father, and that is why he can endow himself with
> several fathers.

As a result, contemporary festive studies focuses less on symbolic substance. Instead, it is primarily concerned with the way in which festive occasions are used to social and political ends (Testa, 2019). What do we do with festivals? How do we recycle them to make them work in the present day? How do communities handle the redefinition of their festival, both by internal forces and external pressures? When it is a "tourist product", or an example of "cultural heritage", is a festival just a festival? If a festival maintains the same costumes, music, prayers and dances, does it remain unchanged, even when its performers no longer live as their ancestors did, and view "their festival" through a lens that comes from outside?

It would be easy to believe that in this day and age, festivals are condemned to become diluted or disappear, devoured by instrumental rationality, the logic of productivity, or the 'normalisation' of consumerism and leisure. Despite these uncertainties, festivity, whether it takes the form of ritual, ceremony, carnivalesque farce, religious feast or celebration, not only prevails, but also exhibits substantial capacity for adaptation and reconfiguration (Fournier, 2019).

Far from being a hollow suggestion, the view put forward by Durkheim (1985/1912), who sees the festival not only as an experience through which a community presents and represents itself, but also as a heuristic means of understanding social life as a whole, remains valid. It therefore seems appropriate to apply Mauss' concept of "total social fact" – understood not so much as condensing the whole into the part, but rather as concentrating and condensing certain traces of social life (Mauss, 2012/1925).

In this sense, studying a festival by focusing on the community that observes it, and studying the community, deepening the understanding and reach of its festivals, are two complementary aims, which mutually enrich one another. In festivities, we can see the reflection of some of the major dichotomies and questions of society: the present and the future, life and death, continuity and change, commerce and giving, *pathos* and *logos*. We continue to need them as a means of invoking and expressing the solemn and the carnivalesque, the sacred and the secular, *gravitas* and the picaresque. In them, we encounter processes of socialisation and learning; the crossroads at which individual and group identities are forged; the interplay between identity and otherness; the dialogue between various ways of appropriating, understanding and experiencing time and space; the inequality of resources and capital, and its impact on social relationships.

It could be said that none of this is specific, let alone exclusive, to festivals, and this is true. However, to study a festival without such a perspective would be like performing an autopsy on a corpse, disconnected from social life, its vast array of meanings concealed within. Indeed, even popular festivals that have been handed down through the generations, often along with the firm belief that they have "always been this way" and

must remain unchanged, are just as susceptible as any other to transformation, if not more so, not only in terms of their practices and realities, but also their meanings and levels and forms of participation and enthusiasm. It is hard to see how it could be any other way, given that the people and communities celebrating them in each time and place make them their own, contributing to and reconstructing them.

Today, some of the challenges associated with studying the phenomenon of festivity stem from factors in wider society. One example of this is the heritage movement and the debates surrounding it, affecting both those most strongly involved in the festival, and the communities, as guardians of this cultural heritage. Another is the impact of the mass media and major cultural events, which often exert pressure in an attempt to influence festival schedules and locations, and force it to submit to their market logic (Boissevain, 2008).

Far from remaining a continuous representation of the past, festivals renew themselves in conjunction with their setting and community, creating new meaning for all taking part. Therefore, like any other community practice, they tend to become disconnected from traditional ways of life and, today, they are understood and experienced, both by participants and visitors or attendees, through the lens of a hazy notion of cultural (intangible) heritage. The process of heritage construction, mediated by specialists and local organisations, has presented an opportunity to recognise the value of these cultural expressions, and even to safeguard them, through anthropological, sociological and historical research. It has evidently had the effect of strengthening their centrality to community identities, boosting participation among the younger generations. However, we must also stress the pressures placed on communities, who feel that they are losing control of their traditional cultural practices, and are torn by the risks and benefits of tourism and media exposure for their cultural heritage. Perhaps for this very reason, communities appear more attached than ever to their festivals. Transformed into markers of identity and assigned new meaning, festivals offer those who participate in and study them the certainty of something that is human, and therefore eternal.

This edition of the Lusophone Journal of Cultural Studies, dedicated to "Resignifications of festivities and community identities", is published as part of the research project "Festivity, cultural heritage and community sustainability. Interplays between research and communication: the *Bugiada e Mouriscada* of Sobrado case", involving a team of researchers from the Communication and Society Research Centre of the University of Minho. The project aims undertake an in-depth study of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada* festival in Sobrado, in the Valongo municipality, which takes place on 24 June each year. Its central objective is to develop a critical framework for recording, analysing, interpreting and disseminating findings on regularly occurring popular festivities, and their relationship with local cultural identities. Coincidentally, this issue, dedicated to festivals, is released in the same year that the open access peer-reviewed *The Journal of Festive Studies* was launched. This is a sign of the vitality of this emerging field of study, which is asserting its position within the Social and Human Sciences.

The first article in this edition, on "New non-religious festivities in Spain", by Demétrio E. Brisset, looks at festive rituals in Spain, and reflects on the multiple transformations they have undergone since the early decades of the 20th century. This exhaustive survey of secular festivals in the country, with a particular focus on Galicia, highlights the modernisation and promotion of festivities, largely through intervention by the national, regional and local authorities, and the proliferation of festivals based on historical commemorations, economically valuable local produce and Pagan rituals.

The article "Moors versus Christians: from the difference explaining war to the cultural encounter", by Luís Cunha, analyses the festival of São João in Sobrado, in Valongo municipality (Portugal), looking at its various layers, which interweave to form a complex symbolic web. Falling into the category of "Moors and Christians" festivals, the Sobrado event is analysed through comparison to similar festivals, particularly in Spain. This helps us understand an event about which scarce historical documentation exists, while highlighting the particularities of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*, in particular with regards to the complex relationship between identity and otherness.

The article "Insights for the analysis of the festivities: carnival seen by Social Sciences", by Carmo Daun e Lorena presents an in-depth critical review of theoretical perspectives on carnival-type celebrations, in particular within the field of Anthropology. Rather than merely compiling theoretical contributions, the paper discusses the weakness of viewpoints which, focusing entirely on the festival itself (theories of inversion, *communitas*, etc.), neglect the multifaceted nature of such festivities – naturally including carnivals – evident in the intense relationship between communities and their celebrations, as well as the ways in which such events are used for political, social and identity-building ends.

The paper "The Blocódromo is out: the market takeover and the street parades in Rio", by Tiago Luiz dos Santos Ribeiro and Felipe Ferreira, analyses the proposal, by the municipal authorities, to set up a "blocódromo" to host the procession of carnival blocks in Rio de Janeiro. Though still at the planning stage, this proposal has been widely debated, arguments against it denouncing it as an attempt to appropriate, domesticate and commodify for tourists a street festival originally by and for the masses. This is viewed in the wider context of growing tensions between those who make the carnival and those who commodify it.

Emília Araújo, Márcia Silva and Rita Ribeiro tackle the major implications and challenges presented by the "touristification" of religious and popular festivities in Portugal for the local community, in their paper "Time of the community and time of tourism: notes about two festivities". Focusing on the festivals of São João in Sobrado and *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) in Braga, they discuss the tendency towards commodification for the purpose of tourism, and the way in which communities simultaneously experience increased appreciation and recognition of their cultural expressions, and the risk of identity "loss".

The article "The production of meaning in the dialectic of historical reconstruction of 'Congado' in Uberlândia", by Gerson de Sousa, embarks on an analysis of *Congado* celebrations, focusing on their significant role today in reinterpreting historical, social

and political aspects of the conflicts and racial tensions resulting from slavery in Brazil. At the intersection of religion and popular culture, this secular event plays a strong role in self-affirmation of identity and social resistance, pushing back against the marginalisation of the memory of historically subjugated social groups.

In "Terno de Reis: between tradition and an update on identity in the Quilombola community of Nova Esperança", by Cledineia Carvalho Santos, the Reis Festival, which takes place in Wenceslau Guimarães municipality, in the state of Bahia (Brazil), is analysed as a significant factor in the affirmation of local identity, at a time when social transformations affecting society are being reflected in this event, changing its meaning, especially among the younger generations.

In the Varia section, the article "Venezuelan migration in *Jornal Nacional*", by Valéria Marcondes and Moisés de Lemos Martins explores the tenor of coverage of Venezuelan immigrants/refugees in Brazil by the *Jornal Nacional*, a news bulletin broadcast on Rede Globo. It concludes that televisual discourse pushes a narrative that emphasises the political and social superiority of the host nation and depicts these population flows as a threat to the normality and stability of the country, while excluding and silencing immigrant voices.

Closing this edition, Sharine Machado C. Melo presents her article "Cultural policy as a governmental field: entrepreneur artists". Drawing on the contributions of authors such as Tony Bennet, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, the author analyses processes of governmentality in the sphere of arts and culture, at a time when the latter is in the grip of neoliberal market doctrine and entrepreneurialism.

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Articles | Artigos

New non-religious festivities in Spain

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Abstract

Spanish society has undergone a profound transformation since the death of dictator Franco. One of its most relevant manifestations relates to popular festivities. The rigid Catholic morality that dominated the festive space, controlled by relentless censorship, gave way, with the democratization of political institutions, to profane festive behaviors, in which the playful aspect is central. This article aims to summarize the evolution of festive rituals in the last eighty years, highlighting the current trends and influences: secularization, coexistence of formal models, institutional interventionism, integration into the European framework, incorporation of women as protagonists, dynamism of associations and exaltation of military powers. In this last point, we highlight the conversion of the scheme of struggle between two factions – which monopolized the celebrations of Moors and Christians, from medieval roots and based on the triumph of *true religion* – into civic-historical recollections (especially Roman and Napoleonic invasions) of profane and even pagan content, as is the case with recent and numerous festivities in Galicia.

Keywords

Ethnohistory; festive rituals; Francoism, Spain; religiosity

Novas festas profanas em Espanha

Resumo

A sociedade espanhola atravessou uma profunda transformação desde a morte do ditador Franco. Uma das suas manifestações mais relevantes relaciona-se com as festas populares. A rígida moral católica que dominava o espaço festivo, controlado pela censura implacável, deu lugar, com a democratização das instituições políticas, a comportamentos festivos profanos, nos quais a vertente lúdica é central. Este artigo pretende resumir a evolução dos rituais festivos nos últimos oitenta anos, destacando as tendências e influências atuais: secularização, coexistência de modelos formais, intervencionismo institucional, integração no quadro europeu, incorporação das mulheres como protagonistas, dinamismo das associações e exaltação de proezas militares. Neste último ponto, destaca-se a conversão do esquema de luta entre duas fações – que monopolizava as celebrações de Mouros e Cristãos, de raízes medievais e baseadas no triunfo da *verdadeira religião* – em comemorações cívico-históricas (invasões romana e napoleónica, especialmente) de claro conteúdo profano, e mesmo pagão, como é o caso de recentes e numerosas festas na Galiza.

Palavras-chave

Etnohistória; rituais festivos; Franquismo, Espanha; religiosidade

Spanish society has undergone profound social and value changes since the death of former dictator, Franco, in 1975. Festive rituals reflect these multiple transformations.

Since the Council of Trent (1545-1563) religious and civil authorities have strictly controlled the *festive time*, and have restricted all celebrations linked to the liturgy. Few non-religious festivals escaped this process, and they were primarily reserved to the carnival period. In the late nineteenth century, a new kind of naturalistic festivities began to be celebrated. In 1904, the *Fiestas del Árbol* [Tree Festival], which encouraged the planting of new trees, became a national holiday. This was followed by the *Fiestas del Pez* [Fish Festival] which celebrate fried trout and salmon. Both sought to combine pedagogical and entertainment activities, in connection with nature. In the Eastern part of the Cantabrin Sea, a festivity has been held since 1922 in Getaria, the home town of the maritime hero Juan Sebastián Elcano, commemorating his naval landing in Sanlucar de Barrameda in 1522 after a perilous 3-year circumnavigation of the globe[1]. In around 1925-28, the *Festivities of the Lamb roasted on a Spit*, began to be celebrated in Moraña, Galicia, as a community banquet, directed by a young Argentine who arrived there and told people that in Pampas the main food was lamb, sliced open in the middle and roasted on a barbecue[2].

During Spain's short-lived Second Republic, many festivities were separated from their religious connection. But after the military junta's victory in 1936 and the repression imposed by National Catholicism, the more playful side of popular festivities was once again dominated by prevailing morals.

The first essentially non-religious festivity during Franco's dictatorship was founded in August 1945, in Bunyol, in the region of Valencia. Known as *La Tomatina*, it consists of mass throwing of tomatoes and has become one of Spain's most popular festivities ("The World's Biggest Food Fight" as it is advertised on the internet). Apparently, the festivity almost began by accident, when some young men threw some tomatoes at the bailiffs and were then banished from the town, on penalty of imprisonment[3]. In response, in 1957, they decided to stage the *burial of the tomato*, a great parodic demonstration, with fellowships and a band playing funeral marches. The municipal authorities gave in and in 1959 the festivity was allowed to be celebrated, while limiting the period allowed for throwing tomatoes. This festivity was later institutionalised and since 1975 has been organized by the *Clavarios* [festive organizers] of San Luis Beltrán (the city's patron saint), who were responsible for supplying the tomatoes, which until then had been brought by each participant. In 1980, the municipality took over organisation of the festivity, increased the raw material to several tons of tomatoes and began to publicise the festivity – which involves no physical damage, because the tomatoes are very ripe and soft. The festivity was declared International Tourist Interest, and its popularity has grown significantly. In 2005 it attracted more than 40,000 people, and the authorities decided to limit the audience

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[1] The representation is staged once every four years. The promise to the Virgin of Sorrows of Seville to return safe and sound is also remembered. Only 17 sailors returned from a crew of 265 men.

[2] Province of Pontevedra, last Sunday of July. Lambs are purchased by a groups of diners. Since 1990, the *Festa do Porquiño á Brasa* [Feast of Barbecued Piglets] has been added at the end of August, which in 2005 featured 133 roasted piglets.

[3] Consulted in "Historia de la tomatina", available at www.lahoya.net/tomatina/histoes.html. The model of this event seems to be the *Ambaixá de los Tomaques* [Tomato Ambush] of the Moors and Christians of Cocentaina, from the early 20th century.

to 20,000 and carry out the festivity in a paid enclosure. In 2018, 145 tons of tomatoes were thrown, and the event was covered by accredited journalists from 70 media outlets from around the world. An imitation event was even created in India. Similar exponential growth has occurred for the *Cascamorras* Festival, about a quirky character who leaves Guadix to hijack the statue of the Virgen de la Piedad that is venerated in the neighbouring town of Baza (both in Granada). Thousands of people run with him to the church and are covered in thick black oil. Failing in his quest, he returns to his hometown three days later, where he is greeted by another crowd, which transforms into a colourful and oil-coated mass. In Buñol, as in Baza, the celebrations are replicated for children, i.e. the future actors of the festivity.

Figure 1: *Cascamorras* (2018)
Credits: Moisés Gallardo

The carnival festivities in Tenerife were also banned, as were all carnivals, in 1937. They were nevertheless celebrated again in 1950. In 1954 the revellers were disbanded by the police and many people were arrested. In 1961, the bishop of the diocese changed the festivity's name to the *Festas de Inverno* [Winter Festivities], and they were once again permitted[4]. The innocent *flower battles*, adored by the Bourbon court, were also authorised, for example the 1956 Torrelavega Floral Gala in Cantabria, which also included a parade of allegorical floats. Although perhaps difficult to believe, in the final years of the Franco dictatorship, during the magical night of St. John, an *aquelarre* (coven) was publicly celebrated, in the Zugarramurdi cave in the Pyrenees, that was infamous because of the trials conducted by the Holy Inquisition. In this splendid cave, the Skal Club of Navarre organised a light and sound show, together with a folk festival, which culminated with the *quema de la bruja* (burning of the witch) in the neighbouring city (Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1973).

In terms of Bacchic wine-related festivities, perhaps the first was held in 1947 – the *La Vendimia y el Vino* [Harvest and Wine festival], in the elegant town of Jerez de la

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[4] This carnival entered the *Guinness Book of Records*, in 1988, when more than 200,000 people danced salsa in the Plaza de España.

Frontera, in honour of the *fine wine* made in the wineries of ancient English families, in which the first *obligation* of the year was blessed and offered to the town's patron saint – San Ginés de la Jara. Following this example, the *Albariño* Wine Festival in Cambados (Pontevedra) was launched in 1953; the *Vendimia del Rioja* [Rioja Harvest] festival in Logroño in 1955 (offering the first must to the Virgin of Valvanera); the *Vendimia del Jumilla* [Jumilla Harvest] festival (Murcia) in 1959 and the *Vinho do Condado* [County Wine] festival in Salvatierra de Minho, Pontevedra, in 1960. Thanks to communal alcoholic-fuelled enthusiasm, which transcended any ideological positions, public festivities became more informal. Of course, wine's best ally is food, and one of the activities developed to foster the incipient tourism industry was the multiplication of new festive events that highlighted local culinary products. Fraga Iribarne, the Minister of Information and Tourism between 1962 and 1969, who was from Galicia, played a key role in this context. After the creation of *Festa da Lampreia* [Lamprey Festival] of Arbo[5] and the *Sardiñada* [Sardine Festival] of Sada, in 1960, two new festivals – the *Festa do Polvo* [Octopus Festival] in O Carballiño and the *Frutos do Mar* [Seafood] festival in O Grove[6], – were launched in 1963. This was followed in 1969 by the launch of the *Festa do Cozido* (stew fair) festival in Lalín[7]. A confirmed success, with the unanimous participation of local people and visitors, at the end of the Franco regime, Galician festivals celebrated the local stews, pies, meat, fish and seafood[8]. This trend subsequently spread throughout all Spain, leading to the creation of an endless variety of new festivities[9].

A fundamental step in the transformation of festive rituals occurred in the early 1960s, when Spain was modernising in response to the arrival of more tourists and also the departure of emigrants, as a result of the Stabilisation Plan. At that time, several new festivities were developed in the Rias (estuaries) of Galicia, which had major repercussions.

In 1961, in Catoira, the members of the Ateneu Club, in Ullán, decided to create a festivity in memory of the attacks by the Normans between the 9th and 11th centuries, that devastated the Ulla river region, in particular an attack by about 100 ships in 968, which defeated the troops of the bishop Sisnando (who was killed by an arrow between his eyes) and then advanced to Santiago de Compostela. On the esplanade next to the West Towers, built to protect the mouth of the Ulla river, young men dressed up as Viking warriors, with large horns, and sexy *walkirias* arrived by boat, threw themselves into the river and conquered the towers, while shouting "Ursula, Ursula!". Before disembarking,

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[5] The mayor had the idea to create a party to promote the local Condado wine, but since this was already being done in Salvatierra, he decided to vary the object of the festivity.

[6] Dedicated to a different seafood every year.

[7] Pontevedra, on the sunday before carnival.

[8] In 1974, the *fiesta de la empanada* (Meat Pie Festival) was created in Bandeira (Silleda). In 2004, there are literally hundreds of *fiestas gastronómicas galegas* (Galician food festivals) devoted to the tasting of seafood (*bonito*, sardines, *xouba*, salmon, trout, baby eels, eels, lamprey, goose barnacles, oysters, clams, mussels, cockles, lobster and cuttlefish), vegetables (sprouts, beans, potatoes, peppers) , livestock (lamb, sausages, ear, bone broth, cheese, curd), elaborate dishes (tripe, tortilla), desserts (pancakes, donuts, iced buns, cakes) and various wines (Díaz, Blanco & Saldaña, 2004).

9 For example in Málaga, in April 2005 alone, olive oil, asparagus, black pudding and *mondeña* soup festivals were organized, as well as a medieval market.

mass was celebrated in the Romanesque chapel attached to one of the towers, in memory of the soul of the Archbishop Gelmírez de Compostela, who was born in the city and was responsible for reinforcing the city's defences. After the conquest, there was a *mejillonada* [mussel feast] washed down by thousands of litres of red *ribeiro* wine. Due to use of the Galician language in these festivities there were problems with the national authorities and, in 1965, the *Romería vikinga* [Viking pilgrimage][10] was organized by the workers of a local pottery factory.

In 1964, at the Pousada Nacional in Baiona, in the rehabilitated castle of the Counts of Gondomar, the tourist authorities decided to organise medieval banquets, in which the supposed counts and their court welcomed diners. They were based on the historical banquets organised in some Scottish castles. This was the germ of medieval markets that later spread to many places, offering an outlet for artisanal activities, and that currently enjoy notable success.

Figure 2: Medieval Fair in Cantabria
Credits: Demetrio Brisset

The foundations for the modern-day festivals were thereby laid. The successful shift from festivities in honour of Catholic saints to a type of celebration related to non-religious carnivals simply required a change of attitude, that was encouraged by another social and political context, i.e. disintegration of the system of moral norms after the death of Franco. Community festive symbols were thereby revived.

Transformation of the rituals

The social effervescence of the fascinating period between 1976 and 1978 liberated the festivities from the tight control to which they had previously been subjected. In the

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[10] Over the years, its spectacularity has grown, with a replica of a viking ship, a *drakkar,* and participation of Norwegian characters wearing strict wardrobe. The mass has been relegated and the confrontation with the archbishop's hosts and the captivity of the Galician girls has been theatrically represented. Today, thousands of people take part in the playful and winery pilgrimage of Catoira on the first Sunday of August, that has been declared of International Tourist Interest.

festivities in Madrid, celebrated on May 2 in memory of the popular revolt in the Maravillas neighborhood, which triggered the War of Independence, the festive transition that led to this change emerged spontaneously in 1976, in the emblematic Plaza de Malasaña[11]. This can be considered to be the beginning of a new era for festivities in Spain.

In the following month, on June 5, 1976, the *Festival de Cultura e Liberdade* (Festival of Culture and Freedom) was held in Fuentevaqueros, Granada. This was the first manifestly progressive festivity publicly celebrated in Spain since the Civil War (except for some recitals by choirs opposed to the regime, and semi-clandestine tributes to the poet Antonio Machado). The motive invoked was the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Federico García Lorca in his home town. García Lorca was of course a world-renowned poet from the Latin American universe, and a victim of fascist repression. Anti-Franco forces were able to emerge from hiding under the pretext of the tribute to the poet. Subsequently institutionalised as "the festivity from 5 to 5", its original form as a protest event evolved into a simple poetic-musical encounter. But other channels for collective meetings of a political nature emerged.

The municipal authorities that were democratically elected in 1979 were aligned with popular sentiment and tentatively attempted to respond to new demands, often in function of electoral criteria. In the urban market fairs, several escapades of leftist parties began to appear. Having begun in the cities, the new attitudes to festivities began to expand to rural areas, although in many localities, "due to emigration, there were no young officials who can organise festivities"[12]. In general, during the 1980s there was an explosion of festive occasions in social life. Municipalities organised competitions between citizens to see who could provide the finest decoration of crosses, altars, courtyards, horses and wagons (as a type of consumerist cult), as well as various professional competitions, to choose the best shepherd, tractor driver, bricklayer, etc. Finally, there was a significant increase in football matches organised between social groups, such as single men vs married men, incoming vs outgoing teams of festival organisers. In some villages there were matches between neighbours and emigrants.

On the other hand, "flower offerings" to the local patron saints were ritualised, inspired by the Festivity of Pilar, in Zaragoza and the offering to the *Virgen de los Desamparados* [Virgin of Helpless Persons] in Valencia. People competed to see who could deliver the highest number bunches of flowers. In terms of street entertainment, young people's clubs or groups multiplied. Everyone wore the same coloured shirts and scarves, and actively participated in various events, often accompanied by a band. An association movement emerged from the festivities. Innovations that proved to be positive for the community were often quickly integrated into the ritual, and soon became traditional elements, as if they had existed "forever".

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[11] Celebration next to the sculptural monument to Daoiz and Velarde, which represents the soldiers who, together with the heroine Manuela Malasaña, led the citizen's revolution. In the following year, in Zaragoza, the Cincomarzada was celebrated, a popular celebration of the victory over the Carlist attack on March 5, 1838, a festivity that had been suppressed by Franco.

[12] Report of the Gor Civil Guard Post Commander (Granada Civil Government, *Fiestas* section)

Contemporary trends

Modernisation of the rituals and interventions that have transformed them may be vertical (initiated by the organisations that run these festivities) or horizontal (emerging from spontaneous initiatives). This conflict may be generated between social groups with the same status (high or low); between a marginal group and the rest of the community; and more often between the authorities and agents responsible for the festivity. This seems to be due to the fact that control of the festivities is extremely important for social organisation, even if only at the symbolic level.

However, one should not ignore the broader cultural changes that have occurred over recent decades. In terms of the change in attitudes and values in modern times, characterised by computerisation and depopulation of rural areas, within the broader context of globalisation, there is no question that these phenomena have affected the way that these festivities are celebrated. According to Honorio M. Velasco (2000), new conflicts arose due to "zealous ecclesiastical actions concerning the order and purity of attitudes in religious spaces", social rejection of certain political acts and "mass presence of tourists and visitors"[13], complemented by habitual generational conflicts and loss of self-control for some people due to the "infectious euphoria". The author also points to the process of "conversion of festive rituals into public spectacles", together with "playful transgressions in processions and pilgrimages", which derive from general secularisation of society. This however seems to contrast with the flourishing of certain "popular religious rituals", that result from "processes of collective identity" which, in a framework of progressivism, revalorise popular culture. However, the massification of many festivities has resulted in them becoming less enjoyable.

Focusing on the period since the restoration of the Spanish monarchy in 1975, several strong trends in the evolution of rituals in the Iberian peninsula can be identified. On the one hand, evident secularisation, which manifests itself both in the calendar of public holidays – with the suppression of many former public holidays, or their transfer to the nearest Sunday – and a surge in the number of non-religious festivities, to the detriment of religious festivities. Significant examples of the new festivals that are classified as having Tourist Interest include craft festivals, such as the *Fiesta de los Arrieros* [horseshoe makers] (in Balsareny, Barcelona), the *Fiesta del Pastor* [shepherds] in Asturias (in Cangas de Onís) and the *Fiesta de los Vaqueros* [cowboys] (in Luarca). There are other festivals related to animals, such as the *Fiestas* of the *Matança* [slaughter] (in Burgo de Osma, Soria), the *Cordeiro* [lamb] (in Lena, Asturias) and the *Rapa das Bestas* or Galician rodeos of wild horses[14]. Finally, there are festivities held in honour of the natural elements – such as

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[13] An example of the massification is the Galician *Festa do Viño do Condado* [Condado Wine Festival] which had 20,000 participants in its 46th edition in 2005, and as a result the wine was no longer distributed free of charge to avoid incidents.

[14] In Sabucedo (A Estrada, Pontevedra), instead of capturing them with a lassoo, the animals are the animals are defeated with a mixture of strength and dexterity. For the inhabitants, the origin is due to a plague that attacked the region in the 16th century, when two sisters promised to offer two horses to St. Lourenço, the patron saint of the parish, if he defended them from the plague. Having been spared, they delivered them to the parish priest, who set them free in the hills. Today, the local horse population exceeds 2000, of which 250 belong to the church, which has the exclusive right to own stallions. Traditionally, horses would be brought to the village once a year to trim their manes, remove the male foals and mark the others. For this purpose, a stone corral was built next to the church in the 18th century.

the ancient festivity of *Rosa del Azafrán* [Saffron Rose] (celebrated since 1963, Consuegra) and the *Fiesta del Olivo* (of the Olive Tree) (Mora, Toledo), together with the *Exaltación del rio Guadalquivir* [Celebration of the Guadalquivir River] (in Sanlucar de Barrameda, Cadiz). Markets have also proliferated, in which masked artisans offer their products, marking a return to the ancient tradition of ambulant tradesmen[15]. It is also worth noting the work of private cultural associations that organise festivals and which have played an important role since the 1980s in rescuing endangered folklore traditions, for which forgetting is equivalent to social death. In this context, rituals of a very different nature have been revitalized.

On the other hand, and in the opposite direction, civic-religious institutions have been strengthened, such as confraternities and brotherhoods. The resurgence of confraternities is visible in the return of the street festival, the *rosarios de la Aurora*; celebration of *romerías rocieras* in Catalonia and Madrid; and the increased number of penitents and processions[16] during Holy Week, the peak season for *pasiones vivientes* [staging of Christ's Passion] or staging of the Via Sacra. One example is in the Community of Madrid, where this popular theatre activity began in 1963 in Chinchón, and was celebrated in six locations in 2005, highlighting the fact that in Aranjuez there are more than 300 actors and seven stages. In Madrid, it has also become traditional to celebrate Easter Sunday with sonorous drumming, with drummers playing 100 percussion instruments as they run along the street and enter the Plaza Mayor (*Una tamborrada en la plaza Mayor despide la Semana Santa*, 2004).

This apparent contradiction between the two simultaneous processes (Moreno, 1989, p. 19) is a phenomenon where certain characteristics can be detected, such as a more active attitude by the faithful who, after losing institutional support, try to maintain their capacity for pressure, by adopting a new militant spirit and a mutual support system; the adoption of festive attitudes by social groups who were previously not involved in street entertainment; reflection of the current crisis of ideologies and political groups; and strengthening of group identification mechanisms.

Another type of contradiction concerns the coexistence of old and new types of festivities in the same territorial sphere[17]. For example, in the Community of Madrid, on the one hand, many festive rituals persist "that we did not even suspect would continue to exist at the gates of the megalopolis [which show that] the people's origins, half from La Mancha and half from the mountains, have not been forgotten" (González, 1993, p. 11). At the same time, new non-religious celebrations abound, such as the festival of the melon, the trip to the water, the founding of the city, the founding of the neighbourhoods, etc.

The second major trend is that of institutional interventionism, with democratic authorities applying their ideas about culture, which is reflected in subsidies from public

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[15] An example of a combination of activities is found in the very recent medieval market in Cártama (Malaga), where donkey rides and archery are offered.

[16] There are a large number of children and adolescents who wear hoods as they cross the streets.

[17] In the Basque country, which is rapidly modernising, there is still widespread existence of the dance "of men", or "rope dance" better known as the *aurresku*, the name of the first rope dancer, the most skilled dancer, who is responsible for conducting the dance.

agencies to foster certain kinds of traditions, such as the return of the old choirs and dances of the women's branch of the Falange political movement in Spain, or, in other cases, to foster the creativity of independent theatre groups.

Another relevant trend in the European framework, was that EU-funded projects from 1993 onwards favoured the rehabilitation of cattle route, and herds with thousands of merino sheep which travelled through the old royal livestock routes (including the Calle Alcalá in Madrid), over which they claimed rights. Transhumance festivities were also held early in the early summer, in the localities of the eastern Cañada Leonesa and the *Vía de la Plata*, where neighbours went into the streets to meet the herds and welcome the shepherds. Integration into the European Union has brought new residents to certain places, especially popular tourist spots, and has led to the organisation of festivities such as the *Oktoberfest* or Beer Festival (organised by the Germans; in Andratx, Calella, Calpe, Torremolinos, Vigo …) and the *Dragonfest*, which celebrates the arrival of Spring in March next to the river, in Orjiva. Created in 1996 by a colony of English residents, the latter was disseminated abroad, attracting hundreds of *neohippies*. Without any formal organisers, the participants enjoyed a variety of concerts and drugs, although banned by the municipality it attracted around 3000 people in 2002[18]. Subsequently, other spontaneous spring festivities have sprung up in Granada and Seville[19]. Less troublesome are festivals organised by new immigrant communities, such as the Chinese New Year, which brings colourful parades with paper dragons to the streets of Madrid, and the gathering of Senegalese and Ecuadorians in various locations, in a cultural mix that brings new festive traditions.

Figure 3: Chinese New Year in front of the Royal Palace in Madrid (2012)
Credits: Demetrio Brisset

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[18] The death of two participants due to an overdose and the subsequent media campaign, in addition to strict access controls, resulted in a reduction of participants to 1,500 in 2003. A logistical infrastructure suitable for mass attendance was then created in 2005.

[19] In Granada, it began in the *Paseo de los Tristes* but due to strong neighbourhood protests due to the noise, in 2005 it was moved by the municipal authorities to a nearby enclosure. However, the inhabitants then succeeded in banning the event, which resulted in a huge open air drinking session. As for Seville, online advertising has brought about 70 000 people to Cartuja.

A major novelty is the massive and irreversible involvement of women in the festivities, both as organising members and active participants. Sometimes they have even managed to perform some ritual dances that had fallen into disuse, replacing men[20]. Use of a social space that used to be a male preserve, required a great effort in certain cases, as shown by the conflict for the inclusion of women in the *soldadescas* in the Basque region and the *costaleros* of Holy Week processions in Andalusia. Along with women's participation in bullfighting, one of the most striking examples of the equality achieved is on St. John's night[21], when women walk barefoot over the embers and go out at night to court boys.

Outside the religious sphere, there are dynamic associations that export their organisational model from one location to another, contributing to the creation of similar festivities. Examples are the entities that promote dissemination of historical festivities. Finally, another trend is the exaltation of military themes, including military music, clothing and parades, both in representations of the Moors and Christians and in other festivities.

The civic-historical celebrations

During the Franco regime the main Hispanic ritual representations of the struggle between two factions, with a historical basis, were those between Moors and Christians, recalling the medieval conquest of the respective town by troops carrying the flag of the Cross. These revealed an intolerant patriotic-religious discourse, that was consonant with the dominant political mindset.

The earliest example is still celebrated today in a secluded corner of the isolated mountains of Cabrera Alta, in the area where the Romans exploited the gold mines of Las Médulas with slave labour. It is the dance of King Nebuchadnezzar, in reference to the king of Babylon who conquered Jerusalem in 587 BC, representing a Moorish leader, while the prophet Daniel represents his antagonist – the Christian ambassador[22]. Many depictions of the combat between Moors and Christians, involve a high level of anachronism, revealing a certain character as a sacramental fairy tale.

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[20] The case of Finisterra (A Coruña) stands out, where women are responsible for the stick dance, replacing men, who used to perform a sword dance.

[21] In San Pedro Manrique, Sória. In relation to *correr en los encierros* [running of the bulls] in Navarra, it started in 1955; the mixed *alarde* [military procession] began in Irún in 1997; the two female *costaleras* left in Cordoba, first dated in 2001.

[22] It is held at Corporales in honour of the Virgin of August, although it was previously celebrated on the occasion of Corpus Christi.

Figure 4: Moors and Christians of Orce (1981)
Credits: Demetrio Brisset

Figure 5: Moors and Christians of Orce (2017)
Source: granadaaltiplano.org

Figure 6: Moors and Christians of Orce (2018)
Source: https://www.granadaaltiplano.org/

Renewal of these rigid popular representations began in 1976 in Campo de Mirra (Alicante), when, on the basis of existing documents, an event was organised to represent the Treaty of Almizrra (1244) – the agreement signed between Aragonese and Castilians that fixed the borders of the Kingdom of Valencia. From 1977 onwards, the festivity's events were rigorously adjusted to the historical facts (Francés & Francés, 1986, p. 286). In that year, the same author (Salvador Doménech) reproduced the texts of the Embassies of the neighbouring town of Crevillente, to reflect known historical facts.

An element of ideological disruption was introduced in Murcia in 1983, when a man from Alcoy and several university professors created the debates and initiatives for the Commemoration of the city's founding, recalling its building by Abderramán II, the entry of Afonso X, his negotiation with King Aben-Hud and his surrender, when he handed over the keys of the city. The old Moorish and Christian festivals of Murcia were thereby recovered, maintaining the system of two competing factions, but eliminating the spirit of religiosity and warmongering (Francés & Francés, 1986, p. 286; Capel, 2001, pp. 13-21).

For most of the members of UNDEF (the National Union of Festive Entities of Moors and Christians), created in 1976, responsible for ensuring the orthodoxy of the Moorish and Christian festivals, the Murcian model lost essential features of such festivities. But despite the official rejection, the new proposal drew supporters from young participants who favoured having fun over indoctrination. Different variants emerged with other groups that carried out the typical activities that occurred in such festivities, such as parades, fighting, and setting up festive camps for each of the various subgroups of the formations.

In 1979, a new step was unveiled in Galicia in the "fights between two factions to conquer a castle", with the Assault on the Castle of Andrade, in Moeche, by the neighbours, representing the uprisal by the *irmandiños* [brothers] in 1431, who demanded freedom against their despotic feudal lord[23].

In Aranjuez, in 1980 (Sánchez, 1998, p. 442) there was creation of a burlesque *Descent by Pirates along the Tagus river,* in surrealistic boats, which in 1983 expanded to the civic-theatrical event known as the *Fiestas del Motín* [Festivities of the Mutiny], recalling the popular revolt against the Prime Minister Godoy between March 17 and 19, 1808, which led to the abdication of King Charles IV. The historical facts are represented by the local people with period costumes in the original settings where the events occurred: the assault on the Godoy Palace (wherein Godoy is symbolised by a straw doll) and the courtyard of the Royal Palace[24].

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[23] The revolt of the *irmandiños*, the popular brotherhood of the districts of Pontedeume and Betanzos, destroyed the castle that served as the residence of Nuño Freire de Andrade - *O Mao* (El Malo) [The Bad One], who fled to Santiago de Compostela seeking protection from the archbishop. After reorganizing his hosts, he defeated the revolted people in the battle of the Eume. The participants of the festive *March Irmandiña* in mid-August, walk the path between the monastery of Narón and the castle of Moeche (owned by Casa de Alba, in the province of A Coruña), which they conquer at night. In 2005, the festival commission only received financial support from the institutions.

[24] In the same Community of Madrid, another festivity with a historical reference was created in 1994: the uprising against the French, summoned by the leaders of Móstoles, with whom they declared war on the French. The participants recreate the outbreak of popular struggle on May 2, with about 350 people dressed as aldermen, soldiers and peasants. On May 2, 1985, the mayor signed a declaration of peace with the French ambassador, and the Community of Madrid embraced this festivity. With a less rebellious dimension, a festivity commemorating the wedding of Philip IV with Mariana of Austria has begun in Navalcarnero, on the last weekend of August.

Figure 7: Moors and Christians in Albondón (1979)
Credits: Demetrio Brisset

Figure 8: Moors and Christians in Albondón (2018)
Credits: Miguel Carvajal

More structured is the variant of these festivities which began in Cartagena in 1990 with the *Carthaginian and Roman Festivities*, which relive the events of the years 223-209 BC, when the city evolved from Qart-Hadast to Carthago Nova. Due to the success of the initiative, the initial 500 *narrators* increased to 5000, expanding the non-religious acts, which in 2001 consisted of an extensive sequence of events: lighting the sacred fire, the oath of enmity to Rome, foundation of Qart-Hadast, destruction of Sagunto, declaration of war by the Roman Senate, the marriage between Hannibal and the Iberian princess Himilce, the oracle of Tanit, the Roman circus, landing of the Carthaginian army, the parade of Hannibal's departure to Rome, the landing of the Romans, the great battle for the conquest of Qart-Hadast, the victorious parade of Scipio, the tribute to the Romans killed in battle, the proclamation of Roman law. This living history lesson about the Second Punic War, the archaeological ruins and a camp, is organised by the Federation of Troops and Legions, involving associations related to the Moorish and Christian ranks, the *fallero* groups or the *cuarteles* [confraternities] from Easter Week celebrations

in nearby locations[25]. This way of uniting culture, history, spectacle and popular entertainment was quickly imitated.

In La Coruña, to commemorate the battle of Elviña (which took place there in 1809, when English troops escaped from Marshal Soult's Napoleonic army), the Royal Green Jackets Historical-Cultural Association was founded in 1996, dedicated to organising historical recreations of events linked to the War of Independence. In 2003, the Royal Green Jackets collaborated in the *First Historical Re-enactment of the Battle of Medina de Rioseco* (Valladolid), which included parades, military band concerts, a military tent-museum and recreation of a battle.

Figure 9: Reenactment of the Elviña Battle of 1809, A Coruña (2009)
Créditos: Demetrio Brisset

The precedent of these reconstituted battles may have their model at the celebrations of the battle of Bailén on July 19, 1808, when General Castaño's troops defeated the Napoleonic troops and thereby began their expulsion from the country. A parade of characters dressed in War of Independence costumes complements the procession with the patron saint of Bailén – the Virgin of Zocueca (who holds the rank of Captain General and was credited with giving decisive support in the fight). From 1890 the Army has participated in this festivity, that has clear military exaltation.

An interesting variant is that of Macharaviaya, in Malaga, where Bernaldo de Gálvez was born into a family of high-ranking soldiers. Appointed the Governor of Louisiana, between 1789 and 1791, he helped American settlers achieve independence by controlling the Mississippi and defeating British troops in various battles, in particular the battle of Pensacola. Since 2009, around July 4, the local people have recreated this battle with great historical rigour.

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[25] As a thematic precedent, I am only familiar with one ball held on Corpus Christi in 1593, in Oviedo: Escipión's Triumph against African Hannibal, who had a triumphal car in which some nymphs accompanied the Roman general (Valdez, 1983, p. 55), although I believe that the historical subject must have been represented in the theatres of the Iberian Peninsula during the Roman era.

Figure 10: Pensacola Battle - surrender of British, Macharaviaya (2017)
Credits: Demetrio Brisset

On the other hand, parades or military reviews have been organised in the Royal Palace[26] with troops dressed in period uniforms, such as the members of the King's Immemorial Regiment, which dates back to 1696 and is considered to be the oldest in the world, with halberdiers wielding their sharpened steel weapons.

Integration in European festivals

For a society in the process of modernisation and secularism, the new festive orientation offered tremendous possibilities. Cartagena organised a meeting of historical festivals in 2000, with the participation of 12, resulting in the founding of the Spanish Association of Historical Recreations and Festivals, which later joined the Fédération Européenne des Fêtes et Événements Historiques[27], created in 1991 on the basis of Italian and French festivals based on the ancient sport of crossbow archery. The Spanish association, whose objective is "to claim and promote the history of the different geographical points of Spain, through festivities, (...) combining efforts [and] improving the quality and enriching the festivities (...) based on the experiences of others" seeks to spread the "special pride (...) of being an active protagonist of a historic and unrepeatable event" and intends to link the festivities "which are organised in celebration of an event prior to the year 1900 [and may be] inspired by a historical fact or event, or also a legend, literary fiction or a specific moment in our history". A festival is considered to be historical if "it has proved its periodic celebration and upholds rigour and fidelity to the original facts (...) respecting the aesthetics of the period in question"[28].

This association includes the entities that organise festivities such as: the *Fiestas de Sodales Íbero - Romanos* (1st century), in Fortuna, Murcia; *Fiesta del Charco* or indigenous

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[26] Like the military parade that is televised every October 12.

[27] One of the current Spanish representatives, is also the secretary of UNDEF, which shows the link between these organizations.

[28] Statutes of the Spanish Association of Festivals and Historical Recreations, articles 24°, 25° e 27°. Retrieved from www.imaengine.com.

rites, San Nicolás de Tolentino, Las Palmas; *La Morisma* (8th century), Aínsa, Huesca; *Siege of the castle* (1097), Consuegra, Toledo; the *Wedding of Isabel de Segura* (13th century), Teruel; *Medieval festivities,* with the arrival of Blanca of Sicily at the court of the King of Navarre, Olite[29]; the *legend of San Jordi* (1414), Montblanc, Tarragona; *Fiesta del Escudo* or the Moorish attack on Holy Saturday (1477), Cieza, Murcia; *Festa do Renaixement* or the Defence Militias (16th century), Tortosa, Tarragona; *Fiesta de los Conversos* (16th century), Hervás, Cáceres; *El alcalde de Zalamea* (17th century), Zalamea, Badajoz; the *Tres Blasones de España*, a comedy of saints (17th century), Calahorra, La Rioja; *Incursions by the Berbers* in the Mar Menor, Los Alcazares, Murcia; and, finally, the curious *La España de Rojas*, La Puebla de Montalbán, Toledo, which recreates an inquisitorial *auto-da-fé* in the 15th century in which condemned heretics were burned.

In relation to recreations of the battles of the War of Independence, on the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Elviña (in A Coruña, 2009), around 700 people took part, dressed in imitation period uniforms, including members of Napoleonic groups from France, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, focusing on the death of General Moore and the re-embarking of the British expedition.

The Asociación Napoleónica Española (Spanish Napoleonic Association) usually takes part in this type of recreation[30]. The association includes groups from Madrid, San Sebastián, Valencia and Zaragoza. When a battle has more than 400 participants it is considered to be class A. In 2005, the biggest recreated battles were held in Bailén (Jaén), Castalla (Alicante), La Albuera (Badajoz) and Brión (A Coruña) – and nine other battles occurred that year. Anti-Napoleonic sentiment became fashionable in the 21st century, like the sentiment against the Roman-empire, whose cruel triumphs over Galicia, Numancia and Cantabria are ritually avenged[31].

New historical and pagan festivities in Galicia

Each year there are is an increasing number of festivals of this new type that can be considered historical, and extend throughout Spain. Common elements include high popular participation in street theatre performances; absence of links with the Catholic liturgy; use of ancient costumes; promotion of pride in relation to events from the collective past.

It is worth recalling what Eric Hobsbawm said about the indispensable social contribution of historians:

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[29] This historical representation began in 1994 with a grant from the European Leader II programme. The arrival of the Queen was incorporated in 2001.

[30] It is responsible for preparing the battle schedule, advising the municipal authorities on the organization of events and coordinating the various recreation groups at national and international levels (La Voz de Galicia, 2005). Recreations of battles have been organised in Europe since well before 1980, and they continue in full swing, as exemplified by the siege and conquest of Vyborg Castle in Russia, held since 1996, which involved the participation of over 50 military associations from places in Russia in 2005.

[31] In addition to the struggles against the Celts, the Numantine Wars (2nd century BC) in Garray (Soria) and the Cantabrian Wars (1st century BC) in Los Corrales de Buelna (Cantabria) are also celebrated.

firstly, to preserve memory. People easily forget things today. Secondly, to correct inaccuracies, because they know what happened in the past. We live in countries that have histories going back many years and each one intends to reconstruct a past that has nothing to do with its true history (...) Criticising the rhetoric of historical myths is the task of today's historians".
(Intxausti, 2003, n. p.)

However, since it would be too ambitious to investigate the evolution of postmodern festivities in Spain as a whole, we will merely highlight some of the festivities in Galicia[32]:

Since 1989 the *Festa da Istoria* (History Festival) has celebrated the medieval splendour of Ribadavia, the former capital of the kingdom of Galicia. Products consumed are paid in *maravedis*, the ancient legal tender. The parade involves about 3,000 people dressed in period costumes. A *Xudea* (Jewish) wedding evokes the city's Jewish past; and since 2002, has culminated with a procession of souls[33].

Since 1995, in the *Asalto al castillo de Vimianzo* [Assault of the castle of Vimianzo] a group of rebels carrying burning straw torches assaults the castle of the counts of Altamira, driven on by the screams of women: "Destroy the fortresses!". The popular assault of 1467 is remembered with a striking re-enactment, that includes battering rams, witches, priests and combats whose outcome is uncertain[34].

Since 1997 in the *Reconquista de Vigo* [Reconquest of Vigo] hundreds of residents from Vigo have re-enacted the liberation of the city from the French occupiers in 1809, as a result of a conspiracy by the city authorities, with support from some Portuguese and English ships. The re-enactment includes the attack by Cachamuiña, who destroys one of the doors with axes, despite being wounded by 4 shots, as well as the French troops being taken prisoner in an English ship[35].

Figure 11: Reconquest of Vigo (2015)
Credits: Demetrio Brisset

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[32] The personally collected data were complemented by data provided by Omayra Lista and Tania Saldaña (2004, pp. 8-109). Several of these festivities are part of the European Federation of Historical Celebrations.

[33] Tournaments, archery and falconry are also organised in the province of Ourense on the last weekend of August.

[34] It culminates in a Celtic folklore concert, in the province of A Coruña, in early July.

[35] On the weekend near to March 28, with artistic direction by the group Tanxarina.

In Xinzo de Limia, with the support of festivity organisers from Cartagena, the *Festa do Esquecemento* [Festival of Forgetfulness] began in 2001, in memory of a fact that occurred around the year 137, when the Romans conquered Galicia. When they reached the River Lethes (today the Lima river), the Romans were frightened by the Galician legend that those who crossed it would lose their memory. They stood paralysed on the bank until the General Decimus Junius Brutus raised a standard and crossed the river alone, and then called each of his men by their names. Since he had showed that he hadn't lost his memory, he was followed by his troops. This is followed by acts such as the "Ara Solaris offering" at sunrise, with challenges between the two factions, followed by re-enactment of the crossing of the river and the battle between the hilltop fort dwellers and the Romans, bidding for slaves, burning of the fraternity and extinguishing the sacred fire. In addition to a Roman circus and a temple of Bacchus, there are events in the camps where participants must disguise themselves: young people prefer going as barbarians, staying in makeshift huts (like the *Os fillos de Chingasvinte*), while the older participants go as Romans and stay in luxurious, well-stocked tents[36].

Figure 12: *Festa do Esquecemento*, Xinzo de Limia, Ourense (2011)
Créditos: Iñaki Osorio

Arde Lucus is held on the summer solstice in Lugo, commemorating the founding of the city in 14 BC by order of Emperor Augustus. It includes an offering to the Celtic god, Lugh (the light), gladiatorial combat, slave market, constitution of the Senate, brotherhood of legions from other roman festivals (Cartagena, Xinzo, …).

The *Feira Franca Medieval* [Medieval Fair] in Betanzos celebrates the royal privilege of 1340 that created the town; the fire of 1569 is recreated, as is the arrest and expulsion of lepers from the city. A Medieval Fair is also held in Maceda, including a trial of witches[37].

At the same time as the tendency to seek historical rigour in the festive re-enactment of local triumphs, dating back to the period of Roman rule, since the early 21st century new celebrations have emerged, linked to pagan beliefs, extending the temporal scope of celebrations to the far distant past (even prehistoric) so that they can hardly be

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[36] Decimus is crowned as Gallaecus, consul of of Rome (province of Ourense), on the penultimate weekend of August.

[37] Province of Ourense, mid-August.

documented. In relation to these new pagan festivals, we can mention a few that refer to hilltop fort culture or the Celtic hilltop forts, which flourished from the 6th century BC onwards[38]:

The *Festa da Lua Cheia* [Festival of the Full Moon] which involves burning of 3500 litres of brandy carried by the wise witches and wizards, which was founded in 1979.

Encontro Tribal [Tribal Encounter] next to a *mamoa* (prehistoric stone monument) where hundreds of people dressed in furs, engage in troglodyte games and workshops to make stone and metal tools.

Feira Celta Aureana [Aurean Celtic Festival], held on the hill of the mythical Aurean fountain, reputed to have sacred properties, with links to Celtic legends.

In the *Festa Celta de Lugnasad* [Lugnasad Celtic Festival] or summer festival, weddings are celebrate next to the hilltop fort, in accordance with the Celtic rite, valid for one year and officiated by the *head druid* of Galicia, who then blesses a great bonfire.

Festa castrexa (pre-Roman festival) with an offering to the water nymph, Tanitaco, goddess of the waters, who is taken from the city to the river, following the Roman road. It also includes a Celtic wedding and a bonfire.

Oenach Celta [Celtic encounter] with reconquest of the pre-Roman settlement.

I am convinced that we can predict long offspring for these festivities, in opposition to the models that were imposed for centuries. They are, in fact, classic examples of libertarian festivities which have managed to survive despite the persecution against them.

Translation: Formigueiro, Conteúdos Digitais, Lda.

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[38] The old *queimada* or *halloween enxebre* in Cervo (Lugo), in mid August; the *encuentro* in Mos, near Vigo (Pontevedra), 2nd Sundsya of August; the *aureana* in Neda (A Coruña), June; *Lungnasad* in Bretoña (A Pastoriza, Lugo), 1st Friday of August; the water nymph Tanitaco in Xunquera de Ambia (Ourense), late July; the *oenach* in Sedes (Narón, A Coruña), last weekend of August. *Lungnasad*, created in 1995, was so successful that in order not to continue supporting outsiders, in 2005 it was almost secretly organised, with 21 contracting couples that exchanged laurel leaves next to the lovers' stone.

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Moors versus Christians: from the difference explaining war to the cultural encounter

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Abstract

São João de Sobrado, also known as *Bugiada e Mouriscada*, is both a singular object and an event that dialogues with other similar festivities, thus raising different levels of analysis and discission. Although we may find in Portugal other evocative festivals where Christian-Moors fights are staged, the one that is celebrated in Sobrado reveals a very unique character. The absence of a written text to support this representation adds to the complex structure of the festival, with the fusion of several seemingly disconnected moments, ranging from carnivalesque evocations to medieval-inspired farces. On the other hand, when considered in its relationship with other festivals associated with the wars between Moors and Christians, the *Bugiada e Mouriscada* stimulates the discussion on various topics, defining different axes of analysis. The debate about the relationship between identity and difference is one of these issues, allowing us to discuss, among other aspects, possible processes of reframing the interpretations of the festival, valuing for example the idea of cultural encounter. Also the contemporary processes of cultural heritage conservation should be considered, by which a third axis of analysis is defined, exactly what results from the confrontation of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada* of Sobrado with other similar festivities, either taking place in Portugal and Spain, or those that migrated to distant places as a result of colonisation, evangelization and other similar processes. Seeking to explore some of these dimensions, this work – as part of an ongoing research – does not have the ambition to be conclusive or even to propose a systemic or integrated approach, but merely to give a contribution.

Keywords

festivities; heritage; Moors and Christians; inversion processes

Mouros contra cristãos: da diferença que explica a guerra ao encontro de culturas

Resumo

O São João de Sobrado, também conhecido por Bugiada e Mouriscada, constitui, simultaneamente, um objeto singular e um evento capaz de dialogar com outras festas similares, dessa forma suscitando diferentes níveis de análise e de debate. Apesar de também em Portugal existirem outras festas evocativas das guerras entre mouros e cristãos, a que se celebra em Sobrado revela singularidades expressivas. À ausência de um texto escrito que suporte a representação, associa-se uma estrutura complexa, onde se fundem vários momentos festivos aparentemente desconexos, que vão desde evocações de tipo carnavalesco a farsas de inspiração medieval. Por outro lado, quando considerada na sua relação com outras festas associadas às guerras entre mouros e cristãos, a Bugiada e Mouriscada estimula a discussão de várias questões, definindo diferentes eixos de análise. O debate acerca da relação entre identidade e diferença é uma dessas questões, permitindo discutir, entre outros aspetos, eventuais processos de ressignificação das leituras da festa, desde logo pela valorização da ideia de encontro de culturas. Também os processos contemporâneos de patrimonialização deste género de eventos podem ser considerados

a partir desta festa concreta, pela qual se define um terceiro eixo de análise, exatamente o que resulta do confronto da Bugiada e Mouriscada de Sobrado com outras festas congéneres, quer as que se realizam no nosso país e em Espanha, quer as que migraram para lugares distantes em consequência dos processos coloniais, de evangelização e similares. Procurando explorar algumas destas dimensões, este trabalho não tem a ambição de ser conclusivo ou sequer a de propor uma abordagem sistémica ou integrada, pretendendo apenas constituir-se como um contributo mais no quadro de uma investigação em curso.

Palavras-chave

festa, património, mouros e cristãos, processos de inversão

São João de Sobrado: a festival with several meanings

In the town of Sobrado, in Valongo municipality, the São João (Saint John the Baptist) celebrations stray from the typical pattern, or at least that of the São João festivities which, due to their scale, media coverage and capacity to attract crowds, have come to represent the archetype[1]. Celebrated on Saint John's Day, and not at night, this festival does not centre around the *arrail*. There are no *rusgas* parades or *cascatas são-joaninas* (altars depicting local scenes). Even the herbs, fire and water, often associated with the date are notable by their absence. The São João celebrations in Sobrado, also known as the *Mouriscada e Bugiada*, are based on a staged confrontation between Christians and Moors, organised into two armies. Over the course of the day, they introduce themselves through dance, before going head to head in battle, each in their own castle, exchanging cannon fire, terminating in a Moorish victory. Ultimately, though, through magical or miraculous intervention [the appearance of a *Serpe* (Wyvern)], the Christian group (the *Bugios*) recover their King (the *Velho da Bugiada*), who had been imprisoned, thus restoring the pre-battle balance. Unlike other celebrations of its type, although the festival depicts a scene of military conflict, no specific date, real or legendary, is attached to the events portrayed – the occupation of the region by Moors[2]. Taking place on the same date each year (24 June, a municipal public holiday), this festival forms part of what Caro Baroja terms the *Summer festivals*, which coincide with a key period of the agricultural calendar[3].

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[1] For various reasons, in particular the evident, but unprovable, relationship with the summer solstice, the night of Saint John has been, and remains, enormously significant. In Portugal, it takes on a variety of forms and expressions (Oliveira, 1995/1984, p. 119 and following). When we refer to 'archetypal festivals', in terms of media coverage and visitor numbers, we are thinking of the São João festivals of Porto or Braga, whose growth in recent decades has afforded them considerable prominence.

[2] This is the case in some of the many areas of Andalusia and the Levante region of Spain where festivals of Moors and Christians take place. For example in Válor (Eastern Andalusia), the narrative of the festival, as is appears in the Programme and the press, alludes, although only vaguely, to historical events – the Moorish revolution of 1568 or the landing of exiled Moors in 1620 (Baumann, 2003, p. 76). Another example is that of Aínsa (Aragão), where the *morisma* festival depicts a legendary battle, won by King Garci-Gimena in 742 (Puccio, 2003, p. 135).

[3] Although, as Caro Baroja understands it, São João marks the transition from the spring festivals to the summer festivals, it is in his book entitled *El Estio Festivo (The Summer Festivals)* that he dedicates a chapter to the "Dances of the Moors and Christians".

As we will see, references to farming activity are also present in this festival. The battle between Moors and Christians, however, has no apparent connection to the date, other than a tenuous association with the image of Saint John, whose seizure by the Moors sparks the conflict. In this regard, this Saint who, it should be noted, is not the patron of the Sobrado village, serves as a trigger for the confrontation, due to the fact that both sides believe he possesses healing powers. In other words, the figure of Saint John can be seen as a mediator and a promotor of the – tense but ultimately pacified – coming together of the two armies. I will return to this subject later, but first we must paint a portrait of a complex feast that is much more than just the staged conflict between Moors and *Bugios*[4].

This festival contains several layers of meaning without truly merging them, creating a complex palimpsest, which ranges from performances that faithfully replicate a familiar narrative template, to others in which surprise and innovation are to be expected. One methodological approach when faced with such complexity is to consider the *Bugiada e Mouriscada* as central to the entire festival, viewing it as the hub around which the event revolves. The day begins early in the morning with the assembly of the two armies close to the residences of their respective leaders (known as the *Velho da Bugiada* and *Reimoeiro*), and ends with the dance of the Saint, performed by both armies as night falls. When we consider the festival in this way, the other episodes that occur throughout the day can be seen as dividers, or *intermezzos*, provided that by characterising them as such, we do not downplay their significance. Indeed, while the various components of the festival may have diverse origins and may well have been assimilated into the event in different eras, locals view it as a whole, every aspect of which is essential[5].

One of these elements, the *entrajadas,* or *estardalhadas*, represents the most unpredictable moment of the festival, not because spectators are unaware of what will happen, but because it takes surprising new forms each year. In this section, which could be defined as carnivalesque, as it is by Pinto (2000, p. 5), the community takes a critical look at itself, or those close to it. Freely prepared by individuals or groups, this section of the festival (which takes place at the end of the morning, after the highly popular *Danças de Entrada* – Entrance Dances) offers a comical or satirical take on happenings in the community or country[6]. The performance has no fixed structure. Any member of the community is free to express his or her criticisms, making this section quite unpredictable, as it combines relatively structured and complex skits, which require teamwork, resources and considerable organisation, with simpler and more spontaneous contributions, some of which use expressions of unbridled or excessive sexuality as a form of provocation.

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[4] The origin and meaning of this term are unclear, although the *Houaiss Dictionary of the Portuguese Language* gives us some clues. The most immediate links the term *bugio* to a variety of primate, but there are other definitions worth noting: a *bugio* can also be a person who imitates or mocks others, or a type of dance that imitates a monkey.

[5] To date, no documentary evidence of the history of this festival has been discovered. Pinto (1983, p. 32) suggests that these battles were incorporated into an existing festival, with origins in other ceremonies or traditions. Certain elements can be associated with *Corpus Christi*, as Oliveira indicates with reference to the presence of a wyvern (Oliveira, 1995/1984, p. 279).

[6] The combination of social criticism and battles between Moors and Christians is also seen elsewhere, for example in Laroya (Almeria), "the players channel references to the everyday lives of the People in their criticism" (González Alcantud, 2003, p. 50), this criticism being so ferocious that it is said to have driven one of its targets to suicide.

Other elements of the festival also fall into this category of *intermezzo*. Although they follow each other chronologically and share the same generic name (*Serviços da Tarde*, or Afternoon Services), these must be divided into at least two groups. The first can be interpreted as an expression of the rural origins of the community, portraying this activity in the same humorous register as the *entrajadas* and also involving audience participation. However, compared to the *entrajadas*, the room for improvisation is considerably narrower, resulting solely from interaction with the audience. Only males take part and all participants are masked and shabbily dressed, in contrast to the exuberant costumes worn by the *mourisqueiros* and *bugios*. The first episode of this series of performances is the *Cobrança dos Direitos*, in other words, the collection of the taxes owed after the harvest. The tax collector, armed with a ledger and a stick for administering punishments, enters atop a donkey, the first in a series of reversals that are worthy of detailed analysis. This is followed by the *Lavra da Praça* (the Tilling of the Square), an obvious portrayal of agricultural labour, as its name suggests, but one in which the usual sequence of events is inverted. The square, which is the hub of the festivities, and in which the two armies will later confront one another, is first sewn, then harrowed and finally tilled, all of these operations following a familiar pattern of humour and disorder – a clear reversal of the discipline and exertion usually associated with the *good labourer*.

The following performance should be considered separately, as, despite maintaining, or even accentuating, the humorous tone, its approach is different. The setting depicted is still the village. This time, a craftsman is at the centre of the action. This is the *Sapateirada* (the Cobbler's Tale), a performance that has much in common with Medieval farce, although it is not based on a written script. As befitting of a farce, there are few characters (a blind man and his servant, and a cobbler, his wife and his servant) and the plot is simple: a disagreement between the cobbler and the blind man – who has just arrived in the village, guided by his servant – and the wife of the cobbler absconding with the aforementioned servant. This woman, played by a man, like all of the other characters, ends up returning to the cobbler, restoring the situation prior to the arrival of the blind man. The fact that there is no written script does not prevent stringent adherence to the plot, meaning that the margin for improvisation is limited to interaction with the audience, which is an integral part of the act[7]. As stated above, the humorous tone prevails, as does an element of criticism, or even subversion, of the usual order, though this is restored at the end. There are two aspects that I believe deserve closer analysis. On the one hand, the fact that order is subverted by an outsider, and, on the other, the presence of two elements that are typical of *São João* festivals, water and fire, the usual significance of which is, once again, subverted. The water is dirty, mixed with mud and animal waste, and splatters the spectators, and the fire is used to burn old cans. Traditionally, these were thrown over the heads of the spectators, sometimes causing injury (Pinto, 1983, p. 24).

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[7] This interaction is so strong and so constant that it could be speculated that it is the result of contamination by a well-documented written text: "17th century society experiences theatre not only as a spectator of the feast for the senses, but also by incorporating it into their existence, as in the *Siglo de Oro* (Spanish Golden Age), all of life is a performance and all men are actors in the great theatre of the world" (Fernández Juárez & Martín Gil, 2002, p. 112).

Bugios and mouriscos: inversion and ritual

As noted above, the festival centres around the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*, the confrontation between the two armies, who first introduce themselves through dance, then go head to head in battle, each in their own castle[8]. This element of the festival has already been described in great detail (Pinto, 1983, 2000), so I will not dwell on this, instead choosing to focus on two specific, interconnected aspects: the composition and structure of the armies and the *principle of reversal*, which we have already seen in other elements of the festival. Insofar as the first of these aspects is concerned, the differences between the two armies are abundantly clear. The Christian army (the *Bugios*) is enormous (around 500 people) and unstructured, composed of people of diverse ages, marital statuses and genders, all of whom are masked. Disorderly and undisciplined, this group bears little resemblance to a real army: it does not march or bear arms. Instead, it simply dances, leaping and creating a great hullabaloo, and carrying castanets, horns, or even dolls, in place of weapons. The other group (the *Mouriscada*) is a genuine military corps. Smaller in numbers (around 40), it is completely homogenous, being composed entirely of young, unmarried men, representing the prime of the Sobrado community. Their faces unmasked, these orderly young men, armed with rapiers, march to the rhythm set by their leader, assisted by three pairs of "officials" (*rabos, meios* and *guias*), organised according to a strict hierarchy. Judging from the data available in the corpus developed by Albert-Llorca & González Alcantud (2003), such a significant difference between the Moors and the Christians is uncommon[9]. Note that this is not merely a difference in the number of participants, although this is the most immediately noticeable aspect. More significant are the access requirements, very restrictive in the case of the *mouriscada* and practically non-existent in the case of the *bugios*[10]. This differentiation and its interpretation raise the question of reversals, a factor that, inevitably, takes on particular significance in the context of this festival.

When looking at simulated battles between the Moors and Christians, it is not unusual for the former to have the upper hand in military terms, but in Sobrado, this superiority conceals a deeper structural condition, based on the dichotomy between *order and disorder*. The initial victory of the Moorish army is common, and practically the norm

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[8] In an attempt to classify the countless "Moors and Christians" festivals that exist in Spain, Anta Félez (2003, p. 70) distinguishes between the Andalusian and Levantine traditions. In the former, the conflict arises from the theft of an image of the patron saint, while in the latter, the castle is at stake – in other words, a territorial dispute is involved. According to these categories, the Sobrado festival appears to be a hybrid: there is a castle, but no references to conquest or invasion, and while an image is seized (albeit not that of the patron saint), this is due to mutual veneration, and not disrespect for a religious icon.

[9] The significance of festivals of this sort in Spain, reflected in the dozens of towns and villages in which they are celebrated and their many thousands of participants, led to the establishment of the UNDEF – National Union of Moors and Christians Festival Bodies. Its official site, as well as the quarterly magazine it publishes (InfoFiesta), available online, are a good source of comparative knowledge.

[10] The case of female participation clearly illustrates this difference. In the past, only males were supposed to participate, although the use of masks by the *bugios* made it possible to subvert this rule. However, women are still banned from participating as part of the *mouriscada*, and there is no sign of this restriction being lifted – on calls for women to have the right to participate in festivals of this type (Heuzé, 2003).

in such festivals. This is followed by a turn of events, almost always resulting from magical or divine intervention, as is the case in Sobrado, where a *Serpe* comes to the aid of the Christians, freeing their leader, the *Velho*. Therefore, what makes this festival unique among similar events is not the military superiority itself or the supernatural nature of the assistance, but the extent and nature of this superiority[11]. It is only at the height of the confrontation, when Passal (the central square of Sobrado) becomes a battlefield, with each castle firing its respective cannon at the enemy, that the military element of the *Bugios* becomes apparent. In contrast to the disciplined march of the *mouriscada*, the *bugiada* is characterised by chaos, and unwarlike and irrational behaviour. This approach prevails throughout the military confrontation, as evident in the way the *bugios* jump in a childlike and far-from-militaristic manner after every shot. It is also manifest in the manner of their defeat – the gunpowder in their barracks running out. Although I do not wish to labour the *structuralist* aspect or the relationship between nature and culture, it is worth highlighting a few factors that steer us toward such interpretations. One of these relates to the fact that no *bugios* take part in religious ceremonies, unlike the *mouriscada*, whose ranks participate in Mass and carry the altars of Saint John and the Patron Saint Andrew during the procession. Another factor that points in the same direction relates to the presence or absence of masks, as these are only worn by the *mourisqueiros*. All participants in the so-called *Serviços da Tarde* also wear masks – a fact that can be read as an affirmation of the contrast between *personification* (the *mouriscada*) and non-differentiation (*bugiada*). Finally, it should also be noted that signs of reversal also reveal themselves in less structural ways, for example through semantic inversions, as illustrated by the use of the word *jantar* (dinner), to refer to the full meal served in the late morning, which always plays an important role in the festivities[12].

As we can see, these principals of inversion which, it should be recalled, are also evident in the *Serviços da Tarde*, appear to constitute a *system.* But they are also a *symptom* of the way in which the community relates to this festival. The critical role played by the *entrajadas* helps illustrate this point, in particular with regard to the criticism aimed directly at the local authorities – the Parish Council and the Municipal Council of Valongo. Firstly, there is a physical and symbolic distance between representatives of these authorities and those criticising them. The role of *representation* and also hosting of political figures from outside the community makes this distance advisable, as do the *traditional* methods of airing complaints and grievances, which can range from furious tirades to the throwing of water, mud, sawdust, etc. The second aspect that is worth highlighting is the strong ritualization of these events, not because they play out in exactly the same way, but because they obey a fairly structured template, which combines

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[11] On this subject, see observations made on a festival in Valencia: "in the logic of the rituals, everything tends towards equality between the two groups and, according to very widespread opinion, the Moorish group is actually the more prestigious of the two" (Albert, 2003, p. 94).

[12] This substantial meal, attended by all participants, is currently served in the *Casa do Bugio*, the two groups eating in separate halls, interacting through ritualised provocation (offering bones and leftovers to the opposing group) at the end of the meal. In the past, the *jantar* was served in the barns or yards of the wealthiest farmers, affording it symbolic significance while also presenting an opportunity for disadvantaged groups to access a good meal.

carnivalesque pantomime and sexual profligacy with civic activism, condemning unacceptable behaviours or situations. Safe in the Parish Council building, local politicians witness this spectacle, unable either to miss it or appear uninterested, or to succumb to the real or implicit desire to impose restrictions. The *entrajadas* are a *public discourse* in the sense in which this term is used by James Scott. In other words, they do not target all that is at play in the power dynamics of those present. In this sense, they appear to conform to a rule of thumb proposed by Scott (2013, p. 29): "the greater the disparity in power between dominant and subordinate, and the more arbitrarily it is exercised, the more the public transcript of subordinates will take on a stereotyped, ritualistic cast". Recognising that there is a need to pursue this line of interpretation in greater detail, in particular through an ethnographic history of the event, I cannot help but make a connection between this criticism and the sense of resistance to change in the festivities, in which the majority of Sobrado residents appear united.

Diffuse signals to a research script

Far from claiming to be exhaustive, or even to begin to draw conclusions, this paper aims only to identify avenues for further research, contributing to the questioning of the festival, which is being studied as part of the Festivity project. With this in mind, I would like to conclude this fragmented and partial overview by identifying three questions that could, and should, be considered in greater detail by future research into the *Bugiada* of Sobrado. The first of these relates to the relationship between *identity* and *difference,* starting, evidently, with the way in which Moors and Christians are depicted in the festival. In this regard, I wish to argue that these opposing parties should be considered as a unique expression of a generic, structural conflict. In other words, the Moors and Christians should be viewed in a wider context, in which assumed identity interacts with projected identity. Expanding on this hypothesis requires the cross-referencing of two analytical axes, a *syntactic* axis, positing the structural significance of the ever-present relationship between *us* and the *other,* and a *morphological* axis, which enables us to identify which *category* the various figures involved belong to – Moors/Christians; male/female; single/married; young men/mature men; or even Portuguese/French, a revealing contrast when we consider the aesthetics of the costumes worn by the *mouriscada* army in Sobrado. Such a reading would help explain the success of staged "Moors and Christians" battles in places that have never experienced a conflict of this sort, particularly in Latin America, where they arrived with the Spaniards and Portuguese. What was *exported* was, of course, a generic template of Christian struggle, in many cases brought by the missionaries; a template permeable enough to allow the *Moors* to become *Indians,* while maintaining its essence, in other words the presence of otherness, accompanied by the principle of conversion and assimilation[13].

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[13] Support for this idea is documented by Macedo (2008, p. 7): "the conquistadors and colonisers continued to identify with medieval Christian heroes. On the other hand, they projected onto the Indians the image of their traditional enemy, the Moors".

Meanwhile, in addition to the two aforementioned analytical axes, we must consider the diachronic factor. This enables us to understand the effect of time on narratives of identity. Through his analysis of the transformations experienced in Andalusia, Baumann (2003, p. 77 and following) clearly illustrates the importance of the diachronic approach. In the case of Válor, the town he studied for his doctoral thesis, documentary records of the festival date back to 1694, but in the late 19th century, when the first descriptions produced by an anthropologist emerged, the festival was used by local elites as a symbol of power and prestige, the latter taking the main roles. The Civil War led to a temporary ban on these festivities, which took on a new meaning when they resumed: as a symbol of the Spanish *Reconquista*. After a period of decline, resulting from the rural exodus, the festival gained new impetus with the advent of democracy, a transformation that fostered "the invention of the "Arabic" past" in the Alpujarra region and a resurgence in interest in Moors and Christians festivals" (Baumann, 2003, p. 77). Recent events have also lent new significance to staged clashes between Moors and Christians. This is what appears to have been the case for the arrival of North Africans in the South of Spain, to work in the agricultural greenhouses: "As my old 'Christian and Moorish' 'comrades in arms' used to affirm, the residents of El Ejido were right to rebel against the Moors who were invading Spain, once again!" (Baumann, 2003, p. 85-86). In general terms, the appreciation of immigration and cultural difference in contemporary society has given new meaning to the implicit content of these festivals, transforming the *clash* into an *encounter between cultures.* (Albert-Llorca & González Alcantud, 2003, p. 16). As for Sobrado, the changes to the understanding and interpretation of otherness have not been as significant. At most, we can observe the addition of an explanatory narrative at the climax of the festival, the imprisonment of Christian leader, the *Velho da Bugiada*. As there is no fixed written script, the interpretation of events tends to vary according to the narrator, who sometimes highlights religious differences, alluding to Christian superiority. However, this is never the focus of the festival, nor should we view religion as the most significant dividing line in the *Bugiada*. Instead, the divisions here are based on the community's relationship with itself. In other words, they are divisions between social groups (eg. married/unmarried or male/female), but also between fixed binaries (for example order/disorder or insider/outsider status in the community).

A second aspect that I consider important relates explicitly to an old cultural debate, that of the circulation between *high culture* and *popular culture* of actors and practices. Perhaps the most obvious example of this is the relationship between *oral* and *written,* but we can also consider the way in which today's festival submits itself to the act of description, with a view to being recognised as *cultural heritage.* When discussing the former, it is helpful to view Moors and Christians festivals as the result of the overlapping of various layers of discourse, the degree of convergence between these layers varying from one festival to another. The production of a written script based on the oral tradition by a local scholar, as occurred in Aínsa (Aragon) in the 1930s (Puccio, 2003, p. 135), illustrates one such process of *patchworking*. As we know, unlike Sobrado, many festivals

of this type are based on a written text, usually a Chivalric novel, which is then staged. These texts exhibit strong literary influences, for example *The Song of Roland* or *Orlando Furioso,* often reconstructed through the oral tradition and their (re)interpretation in "cordel literature" [14]. Another example of this permeability is the movement of theatrical performances out of court and into street festivals, in particular during the Baroque period. There are records of Moors and Christians dances taking place in court since at least 1463, thus predating the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada (1492). Though I am aware we are entering the shaky ground of speculation, the festival in Sobrado also exhibits various instances of overlapping, owing to the presence of certain vestiges of Baroque culture, such as the significance of audience participation in the public spectacles (for example, during the *Serviços da Tarde*), or the central role of dance. It is this, rather than war, that constitutes the heart of the festivities. There are other points to be raised with regard to the absorption and appropriation by *popular culture* of elements from different sources, the most obvious example of this in Sobrado being the incorporation of a common figure from *Corpus Christi* celebrations, the *Serpe* – a creature that plays a decisive role in the final outcome of the conflict.

The dialectic between the scholarly and the popular must be also considered from another perspective, concerning the relationship between the festival and processes of *heritage preservation.* Thinking solely of the example of Sobrado, I would argue that the inevitable recourse to voices from outside the community in the process of legitimising the value of the festival as cultural heritage tends to create a *double bind* effect, as defined by researchers in Palo Alto in the 1950s. In other words, the arrival of the academics, or *specialists,* required in order to create a bridge between the community and the bodies responsible for certifying the heritage value of the festival generates potentially conflicting demands. The community is faced not only with an outsider gaze on the festival, but also with a densification and problematisation of the narrative, thus generating potential conflict between the *reading* of tradition by the community, and the *explanation* of the festival by this same community to those studying it. A dialectical tension exists between the different forms of authority, one anchored in *knowledge of tradition* and the other based on *recognition,* which, though external to the community, is vital to the visibility and status of the festival. These potentially conflicting demands are intrinsically linked to the role of *mediation,* be this mediation by researchers between the community and the certifying bodies, or the connections between members of the community most heavily involved in the organisation of the festival and external *specialists.* Viewed from the inside, this dialectical tension between the various agencies (organisers/researchers) is clearly reflected in divisions within the community, regarding the distribution of power and authority over the festival.

The third aspect to which I wish to draw attention – purely for the purpose of starting a conversation, without attempting to reach any kind of conclusion – concerns *comparison.*

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[14] The *Romanceiro Espanhol* devotes a chapter to "frontier novels", the category into which this narrative model falls (Iáñez, 2002/1989, p. 230). We can find a summary of literary influence on Moors and Christians festival in Spain in Caro Baroja (1984, p. 116 and following).

As I have already stressed, the *Bugiada e Mouriscada* festival of Sobrado belongs to a vast category of celebrations, examples of which can be found in several regions of all continents. While, given this expansiveness, there is a clear need for comparison, we must not fail to consider the terms and purpose of any such comparison. The regions of Spain in which celebrations of this type are most common, Andalusia and the Levante, differ from Portugal, not only in terms of the number of festivals of this type, but, more significantly, for structural reasons related to what can be called *historical evidence.* The defeat of the last Muslim enclave in the Iberian Peninsula, the Kingdom of Granada, only occurred in 1492, and though they were forced to convert and suffered many forms of discrimination, *moriscos,* or people of Moorish descent, continued to occupy this territory. In 1568, the conflict between Philip II and the Turkish Empire worsened, leading to a civil war in the region, which culminated with the expulsion of the Moors to North Africa and repopulation by *cristãos velhos* (old Christians, as opposed to converts). Even after this, reports continued to surface – with varying degrees of factual accuracy - of *Turks* or *Moors* landing in the region, in an attempt to reassert their dominance in the area, as occurred in 1620 (Baumann, 2003). This very brief historical parenthesis helps us understand the differing contexts of Moors and Christians festivals in Portugal and Spain. In the latter, the earliest events of this type took place contemporaneously with real historical occurrences, while in Portugal, the historical basis is much more vague[15].

We know that the tradition of staged clashes between Moors and Christians travelled with the Portuguese and Spaniards on ships bound for the Americas, and the tradition is still alive in communities in several regions. Here, once again, we see a broad process, two aspects of which should be highlighted. Firstly, we must differentiate between the forms and intentions of the depictions exported. Sometimes, battles between the Moors and the Christians were brought to the New World by missionaries, which shows that they were used as an evangelisation tool. In other cases, similar events arrived, by civilian or military means, as a transposition of medieval imagery preserved in Chivalric novels. Once again, the circulation of these *cultural products* between different strata of society has given rise to overlapping layers of meaning, sometimes leading to the replacement of the Muslim infidel with the savage Indian or the incorporation of Medieval-style equestrian tournaments into battle scenes, as is the case in the *cavalhadas,* the generic term used for festivals of Moors and Christians in Brazil[16]. The second of these aspects concerns the need for more detailed analysis of the processes of circulation between opposite sides of the Atlantic, and the specific ways in which the relationship between

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[15] It should be noted that this distinction does not result in the *objectification* of history, as the near chronological overlapping between the festival and historical events does not prevent the festival from being understood as essentially *presentist.* In spite of this, the UNDEF has assumed the role of guardian of the authenticity of festivals in Spain, insisting on historical accuracy, in particular by combatting anachronism, such as the emergence, in certain festivals, of organised groups of students and pirates, while also combatting what they see as the contamination of the festival by the Carnival. In any case, when constructing a comparative framework, close attention must be paid to the relationship between *social memory* and *historical memory,* an important distinction.

[16] There are extensive records of festivals of this type in the North-eastern states, as well as in Goiás, Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Paraná, as well as evidence of their recent disappearance from other locations – for example Porto Alegre, where they took place for the last time in 1935 (Macedo, 2008, p. 1).

the oral and the written played out in these contexts. In terms of circulation, it should be stressed that this is a dialectical relationship, meaning that it must be understood to travel in both directions[17]. On the question of interplay between the oral and the written word, it is worth stressing that both the abundant and rich "cordel" literature of Brazil and "high" literature contained references to Medieval imagery – for example in the Indianist novels of José de Alencar – and to Carolingian chronicle, notably in Guimarães Rosa's masterpiece, *Grande Sertão, Veredas* [The Devil to Pay in the Backlands].

The feast place in the community time

From atop one of these ephemeral castles in Sobrado, which are born and die with the festival, you can see the world. The events that take place every year, filling this space with actors and creating shockwaves – a break from the banality of everyday life – go far beyond what is advertised in the programme. In the farce of the cobbler and the blind man, the disorientation of those tilling the square in reverse, the warlike dance of the Moors and the anarchic, carnivalesque leaps of the Christians, there is something bigger than the series of acts, repeated year on year. There is a community in motion; one which reinvents itself and questions itself when faced with an historic duty, seeking to ensure that despite this duty, the *tradition* prevails. A community in motion, torn between the satisfaction of seeing their festival's significance recognised and the fear that it may be reduced to a mere *spectacle*. Anyone studying this festival must understand the world reflected in it, its similarities to other festivals of its type, its real or perceived points of uniqueness, and its inevitable degradation and renewal over time, even when the form remains the same. Universities, science and research lend legitimacy to a voice and provide a space for it to be heard, but it is always within the community that this voice is reverberates most strongly. If it helps shed light on the world that the festival reveals, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

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[17] See Rui Vieira Nery's (2004) analysis of the origins of fado, rightly stressing circulation between Portugal and Brazil.

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Biographical note

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Insights for the analysis of the festivities: carnival seen by Social Sciences

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Abstract

Festivities not always are taken seriously as objects of study, but they have long attracted the attention of social scientists and other researchers. However, its analysis tends to be restricted and enclosed in some classical conceptions that, although relevant and useful, have become mere buzzwords and do not live up to the richness and complexity of this field of study. This article aims to provide some insights for the analysis of the festivities, focusing particularly on carnival and the way it has been treated by Social Sciences. It begins by exposing and discussing some theoretical recurrences – namely the theories of inversion, escape valve, resistance and *communitas* – and then presents other analytical perspectives that look at different facets of the festivities – cultural, social, economic and political – thus suggesting more in-depth and committed approaches to social reality and less hostage to the abstraction and dryness of theoretical models.

Keywords

festivity; carnival; Social Sciences; theory

Subsídios para a análise da festa: o carnaval visto pelas Ciências Sociais

Resumo

As festas nem sempre são objetos de estudo levados a sério, mas atraem há muito a atenção de cientistas sociais e outros investigadores. No entanto, a sua análise tende a restringir-se e fechar-se nalgumas conceções clássicas que, sendo relevantes e úteis, tornaram-se meros chavões e não fazem jus à riqueza e complexidade deste campo de estudo. Este artigo pretende fornecer alguns subsídios para a análise da festa, focando-se particularmente no carnaval e no modo como este tem sido tratado pelas Ciências Sociais. Começa por expor e discutir algumas recorrências teóricas – designadamente as teorias da inversão, da válvula de escape, da resistência e da *communitas* – para depois apresentar outras perspetivas de análise que olham para diferentes facetas da festa – cultural, social, económica e política – sugerindo assim abordagens mais aprofundadas e comprometidas com a realidade social e menos reféns da abstração e secura dos modelos teóricos.

Palavras-chave

festa; carnaval; Ciências Sociais; teoria

INTRODUCTION

Studying festivals, any festival, is an analytical endeavour that is not always lively or relaxed, as the object of study might lead one to think. At first glance, festivals are moments of joy and detachment, but they require serious observation and careful vigilance by the analyst, in order to look beyond the festival itself. Even for the participants, the feast is not always just a feast. There is also worry, tension, disappointment. The feast is not only celebrated on the street and in public space, it is also built at home and in the neighbourhood. The feast is not only experienced during a single day or season, but all year round. The feast is not just a present event, it also summons the past.

Festivals, any festival, whether during, before or after, are always characterised by a huge diversity of motivations, emotions and interpretations, and they contain a complexity that often goes unnoticed in the midst of euphoria, colour, sound and revelry. In order to reach this complexity, or some of its segments, it is important to suspend certain more immediate looks and evaluations about the festival. Not everything is what it seems. And there's a lot more at stake than just celebrating.

Festivals are not all the same, although they have many things in common. Being aware of these differences and similarities allows a better understanding of certain aspects and dynamics of the festivals themselves.

Carrying out this analytical endeavour, after all serious, but also encouraging, thanks to its richness, does not however, dispense a theoretical armour, whose main goal is to help contemplate that same complexity and richness. However, the insights of social theory are often scattered, and not many theoretical overviews exist in this area of study, which makes those that cross various approaches, thus problematising them, even more scarce.

Without intending to be exhaustive, this article proposes a reflection on some of the central arguments for the field of study of the festivities, and particularly carnival. The theoretical concepts and analytical perspectives discussed here are obviously not the only ones possible. The festival has a potential for analysis and deconstruction that goes far beyond what is summarised here. Nevertheless, these contributions are almost always unavoidable and can serve as starting points for future analyses, which are expected to enrich the interpretation of both carnival and other festive celebrations. But it should be highlighted that these theoretical discussions must always be supported by empirical data. Therefore, what is intended here is to present some lines of argument and, from there, initiate a theoretical problematisation that opens up the debate, instead of enclosing it in its own terms, thus fostering interest in the study of festivities.

The article begins by exposing certain recurrent conceptualisations in the literature, and then proceeds with a theoretical problematisation that dialogues with them, but surpasses them. Thus, the theoretical recurrences – already very worn out and sometimes too limiting – function as the theoretical foundations for broader and deeper interpretations and analyses.

Festivities are fertile ground for social analysis. They are multifaceted and inexhaustible objects of study. The plurality of approaches to carnival by the Social Sciences proves this, and I find it is useful to revisit some of them.

Theoretical recurrences: inversion, escape valve, resistance and *communitas*

Carnival has already been the subject of extensive theoretical scrutiny in Social Sciences. Carnivals of Trinidad and Brazil (particularly Rio de Janeiro and Bahia) have received the most attention and prominence, but there are also major studies on carnivals in Europe and the US.

Carnival has been viewed many different ways. In the literature, different approaches to this feast proliferate, which cross various perspectives of social theory and that have generated a wide range of interpretations.

For its theorisation, there are some unavoidable references, either because they inaugurated the social analysis of carnival, such as the classic work of Bakhtin (1984/1965)[1], or because they incorporated it in the debates of other thematic areas, namely the anthropology of ritual, performance and symbols, as Victor Turner (1988) did[2], or in the critical examinations that focused on its cultural and political dimension, as James Scott (1990) did, making it compatible with well-established theoretical currents.

It is not my purpose to examine the entire pertaining bibliography here[3], or to discuss in detail its theoretical foundations, but it is convenient to recall and confront some of the many ways carnival has been interpreted in social theory.

One of the most common currents, and widespread far beyond the thinking of theorists, is that carnival expresses an inversion of social order. As a common-sense idea, it finds concrete examples in some of the most trivial carnivalesque scenarios. However, men dressed as women, youth as elderly, or other humorous performances are not enough for us, as social scientists, to see carnival as an inversion of social order.

Seen as social satire, as a moment of transgression and disorder, carnival would have a subversive or even regenerating potential. For Bakhtin (1984/1965, p. 10), "carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change, and renewal". During carnival, social norms and hierarchies would be suspended, prevarication was even allowed, and more, this disobedience would mean a subversion of social order.

However, if for some carnival instigates change, for others it is a way of ensuring permanence. According to Da Matta (1977, p. 58), "it would be naive to suppose that Carnival only neutralises and reverses the oppositions and social positions of daily life, abolishing its contrasting dimensions. In reality, carnival inversions (...) end up provoking confidence in order".

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[1] I obviously refer to *Rabelais and his world* (1984/1965). It is important to remember that this work was written in the 1930s and first published in 1965 in the Russian version, and in 1968 in the English version. And we should also not forget the pioneering works of Roger Caillois, who also discussed carnival in his theory of the festival (Caillois, 1988/1939; 1950, pp. 95-124; 2001/1958).

[2] Stallybrass and White (1986, pp. 16-17) maintain not only a convergence but an anticipation of Bakhtin regarding symbolic anthropology.

[3] I also set aside the approaches that perceive carnival from a more folklorist matrix or situating it in the annual cycle, or by using classifications that oscillated between the sacred and the profane, licentiousness and abundance, burlesque and satirical. For this foray, two references to keep in mind are Baroja (1965) and Heers (1987).

As a ritual of inversion, carnival can be perceived as both a mechanism of emancipation and subversion, and one of control and social conformation.

In this order of ideas, there is another conceptualisation of carnival, equally usual, that conceives it as an escape valve. The escape valve theory has also given rise to different interpretations. In fact, I believe that the same type of misconception that happens with the inversion theory, also happens with the escape valve theory, because it stems from it. Its two main ramifications – both from the inversion theory and from the escape valve theory – lie in each other's antipodes. One, of a functionalist nature, and another, emphasising the transformative or even revolutionary potential, start off from the idea that, during carnival, social tensions would be released. Both presuppose that carnival is an *extra-ordinary* moment, outside the usual constraints of daily life. For some authors, carnival would be a moment of liberation and a form of exorcism from the evils of society, whose capacity to symbolically purge their demons would allow a social renewal. For others, while being all this and serving to express and relieve tensions and oppressions, carnival would eventually be an inconsequential break and would eventually legitimise and maintain the prevailing social order, confirming the existing shackles and hierarchies. Moreover, many argue that carnival is used by dominating elites and groups as a mechanism of social control. These two conceptions are the result of two "valve" perceptions that are not necessarily incompatible, they only suggest distinct outcomes. The former frees to transform, the latter frees to maintain. In the literature, this is not always clear and the results are often confused with the mechanism[4].

The same is true of the way in which inversion is viewed[5]. The bifurcations of the inversion theory are not always unravelled. To say that carnival is an inversion, an "upside down" occasion, or an upside down world, is not so much a reference to the performance itself, as to the intentions behind it. For some, it means an upside down world that not only presents itself that way, but is also claimed or desired. For others, a disorder that eventually reverts back to order, thus contributing to the stability and maintenance of the *statu quo*. Again, it is not a matter of denying inversion, it is a matter of seeing it during and after, or only during. Therefore, not all those who speak of inversion mean the same thing. Inversion is always the starting point for these conceptualisations. In my opinion,

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[4] In other words, generalisations are easily made about concepts, theories, and their proponents, which create confusion, and worse, theoretical inaccuracy. Consider the "escape valve" and two much cited authors in this matter: Max Gluckman and Mikhail Bakhtin. Although neither of them has used the term, their names are associated with it, which is perfectly acceptable. The problem is when it is indiscriminately asserted that Gluckman viewed the ritual as such, and Bakhtin did the same for carnival, without explaining the differences between the theories of one and the other. For Gluckman (1955, 1963), who attuned to the functionalist diapason, the rites of inversion and rebellion served to reinforce the dominant order. As for Bakhtin, who dealt with carnival, his approach to inversion led him to the opposite conclusion: carnival, countering that order, would incite change. However, both could have agreed on the appropriation of the "valve" concept. And obviously, the fact that they did not formulate it in those terms does not mean that it is not implicit in what they wrote. Indeed, Bakhtin took that conceptualisation of his Russian compatriot Anatoly Lunacharsky into account (Bakhtin, 1984/1965, p. xviii). What is certain is that the escape valve theory (along with the inversion theory) has been used recurrently, but under different prisms, and the term itself is used to mean different things. Some use it as a synonym for subversion, others imply some kind of oppression. However, what is at stake and should be clarified are the different interpretations made regarding these concepts.

[5] Although his focus is not carnival, even though he does consider it, Balandier (1999) describes different cases of inversions, offering an eclectic overview of the cultural diversity and historical depth of these performative and symbolic rituals.

the changing perspectives of the inversion theory are the founders of the other discordant and even opposing understandings and interpretations that have monopolised carnival theorisations. In this domain, the tendency to see either side of the coin prevailed, and I believe that the theoretical disagreements stem largely from ideological oppositions.

Several authors contested the inversion theory, viewed as an alteration of social order and its hierarchies, or even their annulment. Many of the critical voices that were heard came from Brazil, the "country of carnival", where the idea of egalitarianism promoted by this festivity is widespread[6]. In fact, class asymmetries in carioca carnival are undisputed. Just consider the Sambadrome, whose entry is not within reach of the poorest[7]. Obviously, this does not apply only to the Brazilian carnival. And as I demonstrated (2018), it applies entirely to the carnival of São Vicente in Cape Verde.

If carnival is viewed as a temporary disorder and, as such, a form of maintaining order, it becomes theorised as a means of social control, that is, an authorised inversion, granted by the elites to the subordinates, a safety valve where the excesses of the moment would compensate the everyday inequalities. In this case, carnival is a sign of oppression rather than liberation. This perspective was contradicted by the theory of resistance.

Carnival ceases to be a form of control by the dominant to be a form of resistance by the dominated. As a form of resistance, carnival would be a counter-hegemonic instrument in which not only asymmetries and inequalities would be revealed and questioned, but other alternative worlds would be created and experienced, even if only temporarily. Carnival's potential for subversion could even affect power structures and relationships.

However, in his "hidden transcripts", the apologist of the theory of resistance, James Scott, argues that the idea that carnival is a mechanism of social control authorized by elites is not entirely wrong, but it can be misleading, as we risk confusing the intentions of the elites with the results they are actually able to achieve. For Scott (1990), this functionalist perspective is not only riddled with essentialism, but attributes agency to the elites only. And so, the author continues, it is not right to view carnival as being set up exclusively by dominant groups in order to allow subordinate groups to play at rebellion and insubordination. The existence and evolution of carnivals always results from social dynamics, with their conflicts, and not from the unilateral creation of elites. It is therefore plausible to see carnival as a political victory wrested from elites by subordinate groups. Scott tells us that, throughout history, what is striking about carnival is not how it has contributed to maintaining existing hierarchies, but how often it has been the

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[6] Among these dissonant voices is Queiroz (1985, 1994), who demonstrated how the social structure remains in carnival and, in fact, the maintenance of socioeconomic hierarchies prevails, and Armstrong (2010) who, referring to the carnival of Bahia, defends that carnival is not an inversion of order, but an intensification of a daily culture. Carnival practices reflect social conflicts and the dialectical relationship between a dominant cultural order and the subaltern masses. In this sense, the author supports the relationship of mutual influence between carnival and daily life. For the Brazilian case, see also Risério (1995) and Agier (2000).

[7] Indeed, many of these poor people follow the show from afar, from their favelas, either on television or with the sound that echoes all the way to the slum hill. Regarding this exclusion, see, for example, Sheriff (1999).

scene of open social conflict[8]. Still, and despite questioning the validity of the safety-valve theory, Scott (1990, p. 173) states that carnival is like a lightning rod for all types of social tensions and animosities. But the author ends up considering that:

> a complex social event like carnival cannot be said to be simply this or that, as if it had a given, genetically programmed, function. It makes far greater sense to see carnival as the ritual site of various forms of social conflict and symbolic manipulation, none of which can be said, prima facie, to prevail. Carnival, then, may be expected to vary with culture and historic circumstances and is likely to be serving many functions for its participants. (Scott, 1990, p. 178)

The conciliation of perspectives was also defended by other authors[9]. For Abner Cohen (1980, 1993), carnival is a complex phenomenon characterised by contradictions between the serious and the frivolous, the expressive and the instrumental, the controlled and the uncontrolled, conflict and consensus. Although it is a cultural and artistic show, it is closely and dynamically related to the political order and the struggle for power. But its political meaning changes, depending on the context. It is the dynamism of the event that gives its study a heuristic reach, in the analysis of political and cultural dynamics. Cohen claims that carnival is simultaneously characterised by conflict and alliance. In this "ideal type" of carnival, domination and opposition do not cancel each other out.

In Nagle's (2009) opinion, we should refrain from valuing these shows as demonstrations of resistance, or denouncing them as mechanisms of incorporation and conformation. They are multidimensional and encompass a diversity of motivations among the participants.

Notwithstanding conciliatory attempts and the efforts for the convergence of perspectives, the range of possible readings regarding carnival is generally based not on the complexity and ambivalence of social reality itself, as it should be, but on starting points that are too closed off and deeply contrasting. There is a tendency to place carnival between antagonistic poles, considering it either positively or negatively. There is a certain Manichaeism in the approach to this festivity. When this is not the case, and the intention is to overcome this duality without seeking to abandon the dichotomies that precede it, one falls into a register that is too rigid and abstract.

Another recurring idea in the literature, and also widely shared in the common sense, is the one that sees carnival as the festival of communion and equality. Bakhtin (1984/1965, p. 10) also suggested this prism of analysis when he stated that, unlike the official ceremonies of the state and the Church, "all were considered equal during carnival. Here, in the town square, a special form of free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, profession, and age". And Da Matta (1997/1979, p. 119) described carnival as a festival for everyone, a festival without an owner.

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[8] In this regard, see Le Roy Ladurie (1979), who gives us a literal account of the social tensions that opposed the different social classes of the French city of Romans and which erupted in the tragic and bloody carnival of 1580.

[9] See also Green (2007b, p. 79).

Equality easily gives way to the idea of a democratic festival, transversal in terms of class, a moment when differences are erased and where everyone shares a common status. And with this, another theoretical model that has been very appealing in the analysis of carnival is revealed: *communitas*.

Roberto Da Matta incorporated into the study of carnival Victor Turner's (1988) anthropology of ritual and this author's reinterpretation of Van Gennep's theory of rites of passage. This gave rise to an auspicious theoretical opening, which generic and automatic application often results in banality. According to this approach, carnival, as a liminal period, would provide an occasion for *communitas*. This doctrine was intended to underline the inclusive nature of carnival, but ended up accentuating its ambivalence. If, on the one hand, the anti-structure that carnival would institute eventually contributed to the revitalisation of its own structure, on the other hand, it allowed the expression of opposites and the enjoyment of ambiguities (Da Matta 1977, 1997/1979)[10]. For Da Matta (1977, p. 21), carnival is "a great *communitas*, where races, creeds, classes and ideologies commune peacefully to the sound of samba and racial miscegenation".

Risério (1995), who also highlights a double game between resistance and co-optation, maintains that the denunciation of socio-racial asymmetries is compatible with the feast and with *communitas*. The author draws attention to the fact that there is a difference between inversion (in this case, the hierarchical relationships between whites and blacks) and a dramatisation of the desire for equality, or the recognition that it does not exist.

It seems clear to me that carnival is not reducible to a liminal ritual, to an interval, to a utopia. Nor is it a moment of affirmations or inversions, liberties or censorships, dominations or resistances. All of these theoretical contributions have been important and decisive, but taken in isolation, they circumscribe the debate far too much. Considering all these conceptualisations, it is important to keep in mind that carnival does not have the same meaning for all the groups and individuals that participate in it, and that society is not a homogeneous whole, regulated by a single order that can be inverted or reinforced.

Moreover, in all these theoretical elaborations, there is a tendency to focus on the gregarious nature of carnival, instead of the individualities and subjectivities that it contains. In fact, most studies regarding carnival neglect the social relationships that underpin it. And also for this reason, much of the theory that is usually associated with it must be put on hold. Many of these theorisations are too abstract and rely little or poorly on empirical research[11]. If carnival offers us an analytical key to a multiplicity of aspects regarding social reality, we have good reasons to suspend theoretical reductionism and pursue carnival practices.

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[10] Turner's ritualistic *communitas* have been transposed into the carnival field by various authors. Among them, Da Matta (1977/1973, 1997/1979) will have been the most committed and greatest diffuser, applying this theoretical formulation and this carnivalesque ideal to the Brazilian case. However, Maria Goldwasser and Turner himself also did the same for carioca carnival (Goldwasser quoted in Turner, 1983, p. 117; Turner 1983).

[11] There are of course exceptions and some are noteworthy, such as the empirically grounded analyses of Raphael (1990), Freitas (1994, 2007), Sheriff (1999), Agier (2000), Green (2002, 2007b), and Scher (2007b).

Going beyond the buzzwords: carnival as a multifaceted phenomenon

Carnival turns various aspects of daily life inside out, but also mirrors continuities. Still, as a mirror of a certain state of affairs, it does not necessarily constitute a clear and symmetrical reflection. In the case of the carnival of São Vicente, I suggested (2018) that the general premises of the social order do not change, although their expression is very different, precisely because it is a feast.

The rhetoric "a festival for everyone", which is also heard in São Vicente, coexists with the identification, by the participants themselves, of social asymmetries and hierarchies. If, on the one hand, it can be argued that the problems and difficulties of daily life are forgotten or put on hold, it is an extraordinary moment after all, it is time for fun, on the other hand, these misfortunes and social and economic contingencies are consciously considered. Although it is implicit a presumption of egalitarianism – contestable, as several cases show –, this idea of carnival belonging to everyone should not be underestimated.

But often, as is the case of São Vicente, it becomes evident that carnival does not contradict inequalities and does reflect social order. Carnival seems to attract almost everyone with the same passion, but a festival for everyone, experienced by everyone, is not necessarily experienced by everyone in the same way, and does not even constitute a moment of equality or inclusion, as so many advocate. Despite the idea of an inclusive and egalitarian festival, the verticality of society remains, despite the apparent horizontality of the festivity.

Through carnival, a terrain sometimes viewed as apolitical, we can detect discursive and symbolic positions regarding the social order that is experienced in daily life and expressed in the festival. For Scott (1990), carnival is an institutionalised form of political disguise and a good analytical tool for dissecting social order. Cohen (1993, p. 132) for whom "carnival is thus politics masquerading behind cultural forms" is in agreement. Let us then proceed along these paths.

Using a Weber's formulation, Risério (1995, p. 106) states that "what exists is a 'game of reciprocal effects' between carnival and society". Green and Scher (2007) propose that we view carnival as a collective expression of perceptions, aspirations and struggles, engendered by the material conditions of social life and the cultural traditions of communities. For these authors, we should take into account "the polysemic nature of the carnival as a social, cultural, political, and economic phenomenon. The event is composed of numerous events and activities, none of which may be said to be of greater importance than another" (Green & Scher, 2007, p. 8) . The authors acknowledge the ambiguity and contradiction in carnival, such as Zavitz and Allahar (2002), who state:

> because the character of Carnival remains ambiguous and contradictory, it cannot be owned. As a symbol of Trinidadian culture and society, Carnival's most powerful element is its ambiguity, which allows it to express certain ideals and their opposites simultaneously (...). Carnival is not a single, monolithic, or unified thing; it is a multicomplexity of parallel practices with

multiple meanings and therefore can satisfy a plethora of conflicting needs at the same time. (Zavitz & Allahar, 2002, p. 143)

Scher (2002, p. 478) is therefore quite right when he observes that "the indeterminacy of public rituals such as Carnival provide more a forum for a debate than neat conclusions".

John Stewart (1986) also mentions the tensions and contradictions at play in carnival. Turning his attention to the Trinidad carnival, the author sees it as an event in which society comments on certain aspects that characterise it and in which multiple objectives and social impulses, sometimes contradictory, are met. Following Geertz, who stated that the ritual dramatises certain aspects and silences others, the author notes that this is particularly visible in carnival, which is why it maintains a prominent place in Trinidadian culture. The author insists that the carnival experience is grounded in a system of paradoxes and happens in a tension between license and constraint.

Agier (2000), in his work on the carnival of Bahia, states that, without being a rite in the strict sense, carnival is a *ritual context*, that is, a space-time outside of daily life, conducive to symbolisation, and viewing it this way makes it possible to account for the heterogeneity of individual and collective symbolic investment: ritual symbolisation is different according to the social actors and the moments, and these differences account for the segmentation of this space, according to the social and socio-racial categories present in society and in the festival[12].

Victor Turner (1988) argued that the relationship between the mundane, everyday sociocultural processes and their performances is not unidirectional and "positive", in the sense that performance "reflects" or "expresses" the social system or the cultural configuration, but is rather reciprocal and reflective, in the sense that performance is always a direct or veiled critique of social life. Moreover, cultural performances are not simple reflectors or expressions of culture, they can be agencies of change.

As a reflection of societies and cultures, carnival is a historical product. As Green and Scher (2007) argue, the history of Trinidad carnival has always been made with reference to the history of the island itself. This past can be identified in calypso and steel pan, just as in samba, afro blocks or samba schools. The history of these elements incorporates aspects of the countries' histories, constantly recreating them. In the words of the authors:

> whatever the Carnivals may be in their many incarnations, they are the products of unique histories, manifestations of social tensions, barometers of cultural change, and crucibles for creating, discovering, and asserting identities. The Carnivals encompass contradictory ideas and practices. (Green & Scher, 2007, p. 9)

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[12] Still on the subject of inversion, Agier (2000) argues that the criticism of the inversion thesis is fuelled by "externalist" studies, which focus on the sociological dimension of the ritual, that is, on the observation of the external components of the rite. Conversely, the "internalist" analysis is concerned with constructing the intelligibility of the structuring scenario, the development of the ritual event. According to the author, the inversion thesis proves to be tautological: roles are inverted because ritual space is the reverse of daily space.

Also, the expressive and representational dimension of carnival always lies in a given historical, social and political context. Carnival performative expressions are not arbitrary expressions detached from their sociocultural contexts. In the analysis of carnival symbolism, it is therefore important to consider the ideological constellations and the political contexts that are implicit in it, as well as its "polyvocality", that is, the diversity of interpretations, including conflicting ones, that it lends itself to.

Scher (2002) shows us how carnival is sold as Trinidad's national festival, uncovering the cunning ways in which the processes of preservation of cultural heritage are developed and how a national cultural narrative has been built, in which carnival occupies a decisive place. The positioning of carnival as a central expressive form in a national cultural identity that supposedly transcends ethnic, class and gender divisions, was part of the nationalist agenda in Trinidad. However, this cultural rhetoric, which composes a national narrative, is based on the celebration of certain cultural and carnivalesque forms, concealing other aspects of the history of carnival and thus manipulating it according to political agendas. By excluding certain developments and transformations of carnival, this narrative silences various elements of society[13].

Zavitz and Allahar (2002) also warn that this very widespread idea in Trinidad, of carnival as a national festival, serves to camouflage class inequalities. According to the authors, the tendency to view racial differences as crucial, leads to the minimisation of the importance of class in understanding social inequality. For many of those who view carnival as Trinidad's national festival, the carnival is synonymous for tradition and heritage or African ancestry. As the authors state, these ideologies and rhetoric are based on the uncritical use of notions such as "community", "race" or "ethnicity", and comprise various essentialisations, namely a homogenisation of Africa and Africans, inevitably accompanied by an essentialisation of Europeans and Westerners.

In an ironic tone, the authors recall that carnival was introduced in Trinidad not by Africans but by the French, in the 18th century, and since then it has been a negotiating arena between a multitude of ethnicities and classes, rather than a mere field of opposition between whites and blacks. Thus, while African heritage is part of carnival, this does not mean that it is an exclusively African tradition. An unruly Afrocentrism, in his view, seems to prevail in the descriptions of the Caribbean carnival and becomes exaggerated when the question of carnival is transposed to diaspora studies, once again reifying ideas of a "community" and its supposed ancestry and cohesion. In the case of Trinidad, these issues are particularly relevant and possibly disconcerting, since we are talking about a Creole society whose ethnic, cultural and religious heterogeneity should impose extra caution. As stated by the authors: "carnival, with its race and class controversies, is the great mirror of Trinidadian society that has historically reflected its social divisions" (Zavitz & Allahar, 2002, p. 142). Thus, carnival is a historical, political and social reflection

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[13] Da Matta (1997/1979) also sees the carioca carnival as a national ritual. However, the metonymy presented between carnival and Brazil is designed from a functionalist perspective and is based on the assumption that carnival is the feast of the dominated. His reasoning is that in a hierarchical society there is an egalitarian carnival and to that extent carnival is a ritual of inversion.

of society. But, by becoming the national symbol of Trinidad, of its unity and diversity simultaneously, it is necessary to problematise the way these definitions and categorisations are processed, especially when carnival is commodified under the logic of political orientations and power games.

Green and Scher (2007) also point out this politicisation and commodification of the Trinidad carnival in the post-independence. According to the authors, there are many studies that promote a nationalist agenda and advocate nostalgias of authenticity that supposedly should be recovered, electing, delimiting and defining cultural expressions presumably more representative of a national culture. As a mechanism for the recovery of endangered primordial identities, carnival is a minefield.

Risério (1995) also accounts for these instrumentalisations. Regarding the process of "re-Africanisation" of the carnival of Bahia, the way the "black" character of the Bahian carnival was reborn in the 1970s, with the rebirth of the *afoxé* groups and the birth of the afro blocks, the author refers to the triple effort in the appropriation of distant realities, in time and space, by Brazilian black mestizos: appropriation of the past, appropriation of the African present and appropriation of the Black American present, noting that "what matters in the appropriation of what is distant, is the appropriation of what coincides with the interests of the present which is being lived. What is 'distant' is selected, renewed and, above all, justified" (Risério, 1995, p. 98). According to the author, the tourism industry, with the support of the business sector, transformed the Bahian carnival into a black mestizo carnival. And, this way, realities are created because, as the author states, in Bahia, the black mestizo culture is not predominant, but is certainly hegemonic.

Sheriff (1999), in an inspiring work on the racial issue in a Rio de Janeiro favela, gives us some insight into the complexity of these topics and exposes some of their contradictions: "the contemporary carioca carnaval, which is conventionally understood as a demonstration of *democracia racial* and the temporary collapse of class-based boundaries, is the negotiated product of a history of racialized struggles for public space" (p. 21). The author provides us with valuable clues: the difference between blocks and samba schools, the change that the construction of the Sambadrome brought to the carnival experience, the exclusion of the poor, who cannot afford to pay the Sambadrome ticket or to join a samba school, the young black man who is respected by middle-class whites, but only as a *pagode* samba dancer, the idea that samba is a thing of the *povo*, the people, and of blacks, etc. The author demystifies:

> when people in Morro do Sangue Bom critique the carioca carnaval of the 1990s, they rely less on notions of resistance and cooptation than on the more concrete and practical processes of theft – those that limit or preclude their actual (as opposed to merely symbolic) participation. The point for them is not that black culture has been appropriated and depoliticized but that their role as the nationally and internationally recognized representatives, producers, and performers of the samba-driven carioca carnival has been usurped. (Sheriff, 1999, p. 20)

Therefore, what is equality, diversity, inclusion to some, to others is inequality, exclusion and marginality. If, on the one hand, Rio's carnival is promoted as an exemplary show of Brazilian culture, on the other, it is also a field where we can observe the political marginality to which certain fringes of society are sanctioned. This does not imply that they do not participate in carnival. But it denotes that unity is made at the expense of hidden marginalities. The myth of racial democracy is just one of the many misconceptions at work when samba and carnival are presented as symbols of national culture and Brazilian identity.

As Da Matta (1997/1979) argues, ritual is a privileged occasion to penetrate the cultural heart of a society, its dominant ideology, and its value system. Similarly, for Geertz (1973, p. 448), "[cockfight] is a Balinese reading of Balinese experience, a story they tell themselves about themselves".

As Agier refers, regarding the case of Bahia, treating terms such as identity and culture, or racism and miscegenation separately, would lead to the realisation of the ambiguity of each one of them. In order to bring them together, it is productive to approach the ritualisation of different identities. The situations of identity *mise en scène* are good occasions to observe culture being made. In this sense, the anthropology of carnival is a form of anthropology of ritualised identities (Agier, 2000, pp. 228-229).

Final remarks

As we have just seen, through carnival it is possible to explore various facets of social life. Thus, the theoretical conceptualisations I set out above, go hand in hand with other common approaches to the carnivalesque feast. Among the most common are those that view carnival as a manifestation of a region's cultural identity or even a national symbol. Often, the nation presents itself in carnival manifestly[14]. And in some countries, such as Brazil and Trinidad, carnival is viewed as a national festival and even as one of the nation's symbols[15].

Carnival has been used as an analytical tool of themes such as national identity, as well as other central aspects of social life, such as class, race[16], tourism[17], or gender[18],

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[14] This use of carnival for nationalist purposes is not always spontaneous. In the Rio de Janeiro's carnival, since the 1930s (during the Getúlio Vargas government) up to the 1990s, there was a requirement for samba schools to have nationalistic plots. Turner (1983, p. 112), Queiroz (1985, p. 20) and Raphael (1990, p. 77), for example, highlighted this situation, and Fernandes (2001, pp. 86-89) problematised it and framed it.

[15] It would be unfeasible to list here the numerous works that explore this theme, but see, for example, for the case of Trinidad, Freitas (1994), Ho (2000), Scher (2002), Zavitz and Allahar (2002) and for the Brazilian case, Da Matta (1997/1979), and Sheriff (1999). In the Brazilian case, the national symbol may be carnival itself or its supreme musical expression, samba. In this regard, see the works of Sodré (1998/1979), Vianna (2002/1995) and Chasteen (1996).

[16] As did Raphael (1990), Morales (1991), Agier (1992, 1996, 2000), Freitas (1994), Risério (1995), Zavitz and Allahar (2002), Armstrong (2010) and which is almost always inseparable from class.

[17] Normally approached in articulation with the themes of tradition, authenticity and commodification (see Green, 2002, 2007a, 2007b and Scher, 2007a) and, accordingly, of memory (see Green, 2007b and Scher, 2007b, who addressed different nostalgias implied in the Trinidad carnival and regarding national memory, see Scher, 2007a).

[18] As in the case of Scheper-Hughes (1992), Freitas (1994, pp. 249-272; 1999) or Agier (1996).

themes that are often intersected. However, although this thematic range may indicate certain vitality in the analyses of carnival, it seems to me that carnival has been treated more as a pretext than as an object in itself.

As I intended to show through the Cape Verdean case, carnival is a privileged lens for social analysis and helps thinking about a diversity of issues, from social stratification to relations with the past, from cultural and national identities to interpersonal relationships. However, regardless of the focus on a more micro or macro scale, we should not disregard carnival's own dynamics. Carnival should not just be a pretext, it should be a focus. Thus, major issues should not distract us from what is most important, which is to look at carnival with a keen sense and as the prime material for our research. If we are predisposed to see, hear and feel social reality, we will reach the different senses behind the festivity, the experienced worlds, with their own values, logic and meanings.

The great theorists highlighted exactly this. Bakhtin (1984/1965, p. 211) launched the motto as follows: "popular-festive images became a powerful means of grasping reality". And Turner (1983, p. 104) reinforced it: "the way people play perhaps is more profoundly revealing of a culture than how they work, giving access to their 'heart values'".

In line with Michel Agier (2000), I consider carnival as an appropriate key institution for analysing society as it establishes a "factory of identities". As argued by Vale de Almeida (1997), in an overview of other authors, identity is an activity and not an existential state; moreover, it updates itself performatively. Festivals are therefore great occasions to watch this action unfold.

This factory, where identities are made and remade, is comprised of several assembly lines and works with numerous raw materials. The identities that can be unveiled at carnival are manifold and not all overt or immediately apprehensible. We can look at national identities, as well as regional and local identities. And we can both unveil the way they are built, as well as the way they are promoted and displayed. We can place the emphasis on collective participation and community's senses of belonging, as well as filter race, class and gender identities. We can grasp the way heritage and tradition are forged in historical processualism, as well as see them as mechanisms for tourism promotion in the present. We can look at the official narratives, as well as the discourses of those who make and feel, of those who participate and those who are excluded. And it is these various analytical perspectives that give rise to more in-depth and committed approaches to social reality and less hostage to the abstraction and dryness of theoretical models.

As shown by the reflections of the authors presented here, by looking at carnival carefully and critically, it is possible to examine the cultural, social, economic and political facets of this festival. And all this is extendible to many other festivities. It is up to social scientists, and researchers in general, to use this intellectual heritage and enrich it with other angles of analysis and other festivals, any festival.

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The Blocódromo is out: the market takeover and the street parades in Rio

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Abstract

Starting from the proposal of Rio de Janeiro's City Hall to create an arena for the carnival parades in 2018 known as "Blocódromo", this work aims to identify which aspects of this venture – which remained aspirational – came to life in 2019's carnival. To do so, this carnival manifestation will be approached as an object of re-signification in contemporary society, which is evident in the varied reformulation stages of the Rio Carnival Arena project, both in 2018 (which includes structural and date changes) as in 2019, when it received another configuration, which involved new negotiation processes in order to be implemented. Henceforth, using street carnival parades as an example, this project will analyse the idea of appropriation of these groups as products of market interest, both by the private and public sectors, highlighting issues such as loss of control over cultural practices as well as the effects of commodification and growth of tourist flow in Rio's carnival. Through the tensions and debates between the various stakeholders this work aims to observe how this type of carnival organization challenges the event's organization as a whole, considering the power struggles on public roads while it proves to be an attractive source of revenue.

Keywords

carnival; street carnival parades; appropriation; tourist flow

O Blocódromo está na rua: a apropriação mercadológica e os blocos de carnaval da cidade do Rio de Janeiro

Resumo

A partir da proposta da Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro de criar uma arena para desfile de blocos carnavalescos, para o carnaval de 2018, projeto que ficou conhecido como "Blocódromo", visamos identificar que aspectos deste empreendimento – que não saiu do papel – ganharam vida no carnaval de 2019. Para tanto, abordaremos esta manifestação carnavalesca como objeto de ressignificações na sociedade contemporânea, o que se revela de modo evidente nos variados estágios de reformulação do projeto Arena Carnaval Rio, tanto em 2018 (o que inclui mudanças estruturais e de data) como em 2019, quando recebeu um outro formato, cuja implementação esbarrou em novos processos de negociação. A partir daí, utilizando alguns blocos de carnaval, analisaremos a ideia de apropriação destes grupos como produtos de interesse mercadológico, tanto por empresas privadas quanto pelo poder público, destacando questões como a perda de controle sobre práticas culturais assim como os efeitos da mercantilização e turistificação do carnaval carioca. Através das tensões e diálogos entre os diversos

atores envolvidos observaremos como este tipo de organização carnavalesca desafia o projeto de ordenação da festa, por meio das disputas de poder nas vias públicas, enquanto se revela uma atraente fonte de receita.

Palavras-chave

carnaval; bloco de carnaval; apropriação; turistificação

Introduction

Street carnival parades, a century old carnival expression include various groups that since mid-19th century have mingled with the many other ways to celebrate the period before Lent, called almost indistinctly "groups", "clubs", "societies", "chains" or "ranches" (Ferreira, 2004. p. 207). It is thus a difficult task to pinpoint the exact date of birth of each of these manifestations since these groups acquired their own characteristics over the years, differing from other carnival games through various influences and interests, remaining in a constant resignification process.

During the 20th century, the various carnival parades' associations started to assemble and subdivide forming the different categories known today. Araújo (2003) points out that amongst these groups are: narrative parades (sets with structures similar to those of Samba Schools that parade in a competition at a defined venue), rock/lulling parades (created in resemblance to simpler street parade models without elaborated costumes, narratives or carnival allegories but that do also subdivide into other groups). Amongst the category's representatives are Bafo da Onça, Cacique de Ramos and Boêmios de Irajá, performing *hors concours*) and the so-called "dirty" parades (with simpler, less elaborate costumes).

This present work's object of study lies in the street parade category comprising carnival leagues of all sorts, each alluring to a different public, musical propositions, aesthetics and parade types that may also be called "chains" or "bands". Whether through processions or staying still, using floats, music vehicles or no microphone structure, each adopt their own rhythm and indicate whether people should wear a costume to parade with or not. In conclusion, different groups within the street parade category share a flexible set of rules as to format, parade location and are opened to the public.

Rio de Janeiro's 21st century street carnival parades (which do not partake in the annual Samba Schools' competition) are an unquestionable success (Barros, 2013; Herschmann, 2013). It allures not only millions of revelers each year but also the interest in propaganda, considering it is broadcast both country wide and internationally and it also brings considerable worry from Rio's City Hall. Pointed out as an important tourist attraction (Boschi, 2007), these carnival leagues have started to submit to norms and procedures dictated by Municipal Decree n° 30659 from May 7, 2009, which include restrictions regarding parading time, changes of procession locations and even rejection of parade authorization and clearance.

The proposition of creating a "blocódromo" (A sambodrome[1] for street parades) started to take form in this scenario. Rio's Carnival Arena, idealized in 2017 as Rio City Hall's initiative, desired to take the street carnival parades to the *Parque dos Atletas* [Athletes' Park] – venue created as a leisure area to the 2016 Olympic athletes which also hosted music events over the years, including three Rock in Rio editions, located in the suburbs of the city. This project soon raised questions regarding public space disputes as well as the consequences of displacing street parades during carnival period and its marketing exploitation.

The Blocódromo's ill-fated project, rejected for the second time in 2019, becomes a new paradigm of what Storey (2015, p. 30) defines as an exchange and negotiation ground defining popular culture. Thus regarding these complex social relations under the interaction of various social players (Canclini, 2008), this paper aims to evaluate how some of the Rio Carnival Arena's premises have perpetuated and in what way the reformations the project went through reveal the grounds of power disputes in which the street carnival parades are inserted in.

Bibliographic research as well as books and articles, interviews with representatives of carnival parades and revelers' observations, were used to back this project's work. In addition to that, considering that the topic is recent, this paper outlines the relevance of web holdings, in particular *O Globo*, for its importance amongst the city's tabloids and for its extensive coverage of previous carnival events, besides other journals consulted through Rio's Nacional Digital Library in which all mentions of the term "Blocódromo" were object of prior consultation.

Henceforth, this article was structured in three parts, seeking to present the Blocódromo's proposal (or Rio Carnival Arena) under three aspects or phases. Firstly, the projects' premise, announced in December 2017 which translates the way the public authority views the parades; second, the proposal's conflict regarding matters of public spaces dispute and the event's commercialization; third, it reveals the negotiation skills between all players involved which were demonstrated during the projects reformations and discussions with parade organizers.

It is perceived that the commercial interest used by these organizations overlap with proposals such as the Blocódromo. At the same time they take ownership of the street parades' strength it can serve them as something Ferreira (2012, p. 151) defines as survival strategy.

The blocódromo – the proposal

In 2011 Zuenir Ventura declared that something should be done to organize the street carnival parades in order to prevent "vandalism and dirtying of the city" but at

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[1] The Sambadrome was inaugurated in February 1984 and is located in Rio de Janeiro's downtown area. It is a stationary walkway where Samba Schools from the city parade. Before its creation, the parades were held in other street and avenues of Rio (Araújo, 2003).

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the same time stated that "only a fool would propose to confine the parades inside a blocódromo" (Ventura, 2011, p. 7). On December 26, 2017, a project called Rio Carnival Arena (Figure 1) was presented by Rio de Janeiro's City Hall with the intention to host the parades (Bacelar, 2017, p. 5). The idea was soon called by the same name suggested by the journalist years before, that is: Blocódromo.

Figure 1: Rio Carnival Arena Project, at the Parque dos Atletas (Bacelar, 2017, p. 5)

According to the announcement published in the County's Official Gazette on January 12, 2018 (p. 33), the proposition was to foment a five day samba and *pagode* concert on a fixed stage along with floats and DJs and 10 street carnival parades[2] – two per day – from Saturday to Ash Wednesday. Located at the Parque dos Atletas in Barra da Tijuca, Rio Carnival Arena would be a free event with its access controlled by electronic turnstiles for audience count purposes and daily capacity of 100 thousand people though Riotur (Secretaria Especial de Turismo do Rio de Janeiro [Rio de Janeiro's Tourism Secretariat]) only estimated it would host 20 to 40 thousand revelers per day.

According to Boere and Magalhães (2018, p. 10) the arena would use a rope system to separate the public from the floats (similar to what is used in Salvador's carnival) and would also have a VIP area with 20 bistro tables, 80 tall stools, 4 two-people sofas and 64 ottomans. There, hot and cold canapes would be served to the 300 people that would enter with access bracelets. It was estimated the project would cost over 1 million 400 thousand Brazilian "reais" in design setting and infrastructure and over 1 million 800 thousand in production, coordination and organization according to bidding documents. (Diário Oficial do Município do Rio de Janeiro [Rio de Janeiro's Official Gazette], January 12, 2018, p. 90)[3].

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[2] According to Saconi (2018, p. 10) the Bangalafumenga and Sargento Pimenta parades had their presences confirmed in the schedule from the beginning.

[3] Retrieved from http://doweb.rio.rj.gov.br

The blocódromo – the conflict

It did not take long for the Blocódromo's idea to create a flood of criticism. Even before officially publishing the news in the County's Gazette, for instance, the information was widely broadcast and criticized by the media. In a *Folha de São Paulo* (Rangel, 2017, p. B7) article a heated debate took place between Riotur's president, Marcelo Alves, who stated: "the city has to be prepared during carnival to please not only revelers but also people who want to enjoy their time without going to street parades" and the Street Carnival Parade Association's president, Rita Fernandes, who countered: "we have been [on the streets] for 30 years and nothing has ever gone wrong. Riotur's president cannot change the rules without any debate". Still according to the article, the initiative debated with other proposals of redefining street carnival, considering an embargo on parades in the Leblon neighborhood outside of the streets closest to the beach.

Soon the representatives of other parade leagues[4] such as the Amigos do Zé Pereira (which gather 8 affiliations from Rio's downtown and southern areas) also spoke out against the Arena project. These leagues that represent big parades such as Simpatia é Quase Amor and Orquestra Voadora feared that the proposal would end the spontaneity of the city's street carnival. Riotur, on the other hand, guaranteed that their intention was to offer an extra leisure and recreational option with more comfort, structured bathroom areas as well containers with food and beverages (Bacelar, 2017, p. 5).

In order to better understand matters related to the Rio Carnival Arena it is paramount to note that the idea of confining the parades in an isolated area was not new, rather an already established interest that was to define a fixed location for street carnival. The mentor/promoter of Bloco da Preta, one of the biggest street parades in Rio, singer Preta Gil stated that during her parade's rehearsal in 2015 she had already suggested the idea of a Blocódromo to the city's former Mayor, Eduardo Paes (Caruso, 2018, p. 2). Even before, in 2011, the *O Globo's* Opinion section had printed the same idea as a suggestion from the reader Sylvio Pélico. This very section created a one page long issuance reporting complaints regarding the right of residents to freely come and go as well as criticism regarding alcohol abuse, public urination and suggested changes regarding location and limitation on the number of parades (Filho, 2011, p. 8).

According to the National Library's database, the idea of a Blocódromo was first mentioned in 2006 in a rather different way from the proposal here presented. The term was used to describe exclusive routes for the parades and not a fixed location for them. The suggestion came from Ana Maria Maia who occupied the role of the County's Events Subsecretary and promised to discuss the matter with former Mayor César Maia (Marta, 2006, p. A14). Nevertheless not being possible to state with absolute certainty that this was the first idea regarding a Blocódromo – since another similar proposal could have emerged before with a different name – it is interesting to note that only 20 years after

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[4] The so called carnival parade leagues are groups of street carnival parades formed by associations with common interests and/or with geographical proximity to their affiliates, which come together in order to achieve greater influence and participation in the decisions related to carnival events.

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the creation of Rio's Sambodrome the term Blocódromo is mentioned. On the other hand, according to Motta (2011, p. 13), the first decade of the 21st century is responsible for the street carnival parade's rebirth.

The search for the origin of the term Blocódromo allows us to state that the idea of a controlled space for carnival parades has not emerged overnight. For such, an interesting approach from authors such as Barros (2013, pp. 10-11) who associate this type of carnival manifestation marked by a multitude of different leagues and proposals with an image of liberty and freedom of the rules adopted by Rio's classic Samba Schools. Correspondingly, Leopoldi (2010, p. 27) points out that the number of parades performing during Rio's carnival "accelerated growth" is seen as the "rebirth of carnavilization", serving as a countercurrent to the straggling away of the classic Samba Schools performance to the "original carnivalesque spirit of the bakhtinian parties".

Although objectionable, the idea of retaking street carnival relates to projects of street party assortment. According to Ferreira (2018, p. 51), the restoring of this feasting is backed by a decrease on references of the festivities from the media on the 20th century, hiding its spreading effects to the city's suburbs, incentivized by bandstand contests as well as confetti battles (Guimarães, 2011, p. 260). Again, in consonance with Ferreira (2012) the "death" and "rebirth" of carnival narrative exist since the beginning of the party because of a strong intent to regulate carnival. Pursuant to that idea, it is paramount to keep an eye on the disputes for the richest areas of the city as a determining factor for the development of projects such as the Blocódromo.

In her studies of the different ways to experience carnival in Rio de Janeiro, Queiroz (1999, p. 106) approached the established belief of Rio's South Zone as an "orderly area" and the North Zone as territory of "dangerous people". She highlights that the Samba School's spectacle discipline is the result of the interaction between these two social divides being it a proof of the hegemony of the higher layers of society over the lower ones (p. 107), a domestication of the urban mass (p. 71). Hence, the belief that the increased number and participation of street parades in the richer area of the city, which has always been related to safety and better organization, would create conflict and search for solutions.

It is worthy to realize that the dispute for public space is already part of Rio's carnival. During colonial times, for instance, the streets occupied by slaves and avoided by the elites already highlighted the divide between the types of popular and family Shrovetide games[5]. With the changes brought by the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family in Brazil in 1808, Rio's urban spaces started to be challenged by members of Portuguese nobility, Brazilian elite, freemen and slaves. They all began to use and signify public spaces in different manners, which led the bourgeoisie to occupy the downtown area with a new carnival in order to disqualify the old Shrovetide celebrations (Ferreira, 2012, pp. 55-56).

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[5] While the elite would play inside their houses with little wax balls filled with perfume or wine, the slave and freemen would play much more aggressive games on the street, in which lemons or oranges were used alongside all sorts of filthy projectiles and liquids (Ferreira, 2012, p. 55).

Again, in line with Ferreira (2004, p. 165), an article from the *Jornal do Commercio* from February 23, 1857, suggested that "a specific number of streets for pedestrians" should be determined since "the need to take some kind of action in order to ensure a minimum level of organization to the confusion that was Rio's carnival became clearer each day for the party had attained unimaginable proportions". All the attempts to coordinate the festivities reveals what the dominant classes understood as being the "true carnival".

In this case, in addition to the "problematic" rise of street carnival in the South Zone where order "should" reign, other issues may also have influenced. In consonance with Amar (2018, p. 114), already in the late 1990s, there was a change in the way of perceiving Rio's revelry, when a new coalition of parastatal interest groups withdrew tourism dollars from Carnival spectacles:

> a new, revanchist, obsessed with respectability view of what would be "appropriate" tourism and national identity for Rio de Janeiro emerged and judged in an ashamed way the 20th century utopian populist and nationalist project for Lapa neighborhood and Carnival because of its focus on racial miscegenation and sensuality. The elites (...), embarrassed and in meaningful dialogue with evangelical-Pentecostal Christian groups began to see Brazil's tropical and sensual image as fake, dirty and vulgar. They thought it perverted and prostituted the nation's image in the global economy.

In this sense, carnival parades could fall into what Amar (2018, p. 97) calls "cultural enemies":

> certain portions of society have been stigmatized as cultural enemies of the nation undergoing a modernization process and as harmful consequences of globalized development. This agenda shed light on certain groups and individuals and held them responsible for urban insecurities associated with globalization.

Approaches such as these, dialogue with the changes triggered after the Municipal Decree number 30659 of May 7, 2009[6], in which the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro implemented new rules and procedures for the municipality's street carnival, restricting times and places for the parades. Although this is not the first such initiative – in the 1950s, for instance, on Carnival Saturdays, the newspaper *O Globo* illustrated what the city's police allowed or not during holidays, which included guidelines on the parades. The new decree coincided with the time Rio started to become[7] an international spotlight because of

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[6] Comprising 16 articles, the document stipulated beginning and ending times for bands and parades, upon request in the year prior to its realization. These authorizations would depend on the Rio de Janeiro Traffic Engineering Company (CET RIO) and on the Planning Area Coordination's report as well as on the regularization of sponsors brand exposure. In addition, it was established that each parade would be responsible for collecting the copyright from the Central Collection Office – ECAD. Failure to comply with the rules would result in the rejection of the request for parades to participate the following year.

[7] In addition to the works carried out (which improved areas such as downtown Rio, where street parades usually took

the events to come such as the 2014 Fifa World Cup[8] and 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games[9]. Thus, the idea of a Blocódromo in Barra da Tijuca (newly built rich area) with electronic turnstiles controlling its access and a VIP area proved to be another step in this process.

Rita Fernandes, president of Sebastiana, stated at the time that Rio's carnival profile was different and did not believe that it should be confined to any kind of arena: "we understand that groups that perform in concerts are interested in going there. This type of initiative, however, could never replace street carnival. We are against transforming the Arena into the new carnival model". Following the same line of thought, Rodrigo Rezende, president of the Amigos do Zé Pereira league viewed the initiative with distrust: "we are very afraid City Hall intends to segregate carnival in some way" (Bacelar, 2017, p. 5).

This would not be the first time Barra da Tijuca neighborhood became a desired destination for carnival. In 1981, for instance, according to *Jornal do Brasil* (JB Bulletin, 1981, p. 6), João Roberto Kelly, former Riotur president, even proposed to move the Samba School's contest from Marquês de Sapucaí to the old Jacarepaguá Race Track where the Olympic Park is located today and where the Blocódromo would be ideally installed. Likewise, Anísio Abraão David, Beija-Flor's president of honor, never concealed his desire to take the Samba Schools to Barra (Prestes Filho, 2015, p. 20). It is noteworthy that these proposals sought to "unburden" Rio's downtown area, choosing a hitherto unoccupied neighborhood with wider and better-planned streets.

This time, regarding Barra da Tijuca as an option to host the Rio Carnival Arena, Riotur declared to seek a new attraction to the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro for the neighborhood provided better public transport alternatives with connections to the entire city and also offered extensive hospitality structure (away from most of the carnival events) in addition to the Parque dos Atletas which became an idle area during most part of the year after the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Diário Oficial do Município do Rio de Janeiro, January 12, 2018, p. 33[10]). This idea, as well as the one seeking to move the Sambodrome to Barra da Tijuca, ignored the cultural transformations entailed by this displacement.

In the case of Rio Carnival Arena, Rio's City Hall denied that its intention was to relocate the parades to the new space, but rather to create a second spectacle (Bacelar, 2017, p. 5). However, one must assume that the event would only be partly fulfilled since it would take place during Carnival. It suffices to deduce that many revelers who chose to attend the Blocódromo would no longer be present in other regions' parades, which would decrease their audience. In addition, bringing these revelers to Barra da Tijuca

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place), the preparation for these major events also brought about changes in the public safety program, notably the implementation of the UPPs program (Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora [Unit of Pacifying Police]), started in 2008 that presented the idea of policing based on the "quality of life" as pointed out by Amar (2018).

[8] The announcement of Brazil as World Cup host was made on October 30, 2007.

[9] The announcement of Rio de Janeiro as host to the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games was made on October 2, 2009.

[10] Retrieved from http://doweb.rio.rj.gov.br

indicated a way to alter the party's geography. That is because the West Zone part, which houses the neighborhood, would be the area with the fewest official carnival parades in 2018 as reported by Riotur's own listing[11].

Furthermore, there are other issues involved in this change of venue, moving from everyday public space to an area prepared exclusively for an event. Schechner (2012, pp. 157-180), in his work about the streets as being a stage, points out that "allowing people to gather on the street is to constantly flirt with the possibility of improvisation since the unexpected can happen". Aware of this and fearing chaos, the authorities seek to tame the party by turning what was an inversion of social order into a mirror of itself (p. 159). In this way, street revelry occupancy of places that "reflect history" and "radiate power" is an affirmation of something the *statu quo* intends to avoid.

The current carnival parades as a kind of "contemporary string" bring new tensions and meanings to the street carnival where the disputes take place and characterize Rio's carnival, according to Ferreira (2018):

> enjoying carnival does not mean to simply play music, wear costumes and to sing. It means to claim the public space for the revelry and to transform daily streets through which traffic passes into a festive avenue with the songs, costumes and other forms of symbolic transgressions we associate with carnival. For some time our revelers understood the value of this battle that has been filling the arteries of the city since colonial times with Shrovetides games as well as carnival societies, "cucumbis", "zé pereiras", "cordões", "ranchos", parades and Samba Schools. The current phenomenon of the new parades is only the latest chapter in this long carnival history. (Ferreira, 2018, p. 19)

Following the same line of thought, architect Sérgio Magalhães reveals the importance of public space vitality through its disputes:

> where does the incredible parade phenomenon take place? In the street, in public spaces. A public square, as we all know, is a public area surrounded by buildings. However, if it only consisted of buildings and a free area, it would just be a big scale model. It is the way one uses it that qualifies it, that is, urban spaces embody not only the material but also a spiritual side that builds collective memory and identity. Citizens recognize themselves as partners by sharing images and memories. Collective identity underpins values and allows daily struggle to settle on mutually accepted grounds. It is a true social agreement promoted by the enjoyment of cultural goods, spaces and collective signs. (...) Urban space is life and stability, involving ourselves and the experience built in these spaces, which we add to previous generations in the construction of common identity and memory. (Magalhães, 2011, p. 7)

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[11] In the 2018 official street parade list, released by Rio's City Hall, the West Zone would be home to 122 street parades, against 127 to be hosted in the downtown area, 147 from the South Zone and 200 from the North Zone.

In this sense, according to Ferreira, the Blocódromo's creation barely hides the attempt to empty the transgressive political power of resignifying public spaces, proposing a sanitized, organized and bounded territory, turning what was revelry into a now controlled and demarcated spectacle. In his words:

> the parades need to mark their diversity on the street asphalt, one at the top of the other, just as imaginary graffiti that overlap in a collective work of art (...) The attempt to corner and control this momentum is doomed to false good intentions that only seem to please those who perceive carnival as a good opportunity to sleep in. Nevertheless, if the idea is to bound the parades into one specific place – an idea never indorsed by revelers – why not to turn the Blocódromo into a silent resting space built for those who wish to stay as far away as possible from carnival festivities and leave the streets to revelers? (Ferreira, 2018, p. 19)

It is, therefore, a dispute that consists of creating meaning to public spaces, of what it represents now and what it could represent in the future – a strife that sometimes seem to be stable but that fizzes back during carnival. As Storey (2015, p. 421) points out, this process reveals culture not as something "authentic" or imposed, but rather as a "balance of adjustments", a contradictory mix of forces that come from all directions, both locally and globally and marked by "resistance" and "incorporation". In this scenario, it is paramount to highlight the various players involved and to view them as subjects coming from diverse backgrounds, influenced by several sides, which allow us to look at these issues in a broader and less Manichean way. An example would be the parade's representatives who are well aware of the disorders the festivities can cause.

During a debate about changing the script for carnival parades proposed by *O Globo* (Fernandes, 2014, p. 12), Rita Fernandes, Sebastiana's president, does not deny that in recent years, parades with "no geographical ties to their surroundings" have emerged and that some have enlarged considerably. However, she notes that traditional parades with over 20 years of history cannot be punished on the "vain claim that the city cannot accommodate them anymore". She also says:

> how to take the parades Simpatia é Quase Amor and the Banda de Ipanema from the neighborhood they were born in and that still inspires them? How to picture Suvaco do Cristo performing outside of the Botanical Garden neighborhood? Banda do Leme without Leme neighborhood? How to separate Escravos da Mauá from Rio's Port Zone? These parades have a close, intrinsic and deep relationship with their performing spaces. Their scripts have a reason to exist; they were not created out of nowhere. There is information everyone should know about since we are talking about the history of the areas we live in.

Speeches such as this one point out to the problem of viewing carnival parades as a homogeneous category, since, when confronted with tensions such as the clash with the public authorities, they end up showing the rivalries between parade's associations. Should the parade's place of birth or its longevity be the determining factor to authorize them to perform in the streets, as Rita Fernandes points out? To some groups as the Cordão do Boi Tolo the answer is no. According to one of its founders, Luís Almeida[12], parades have the right to be on the street under Brazilian Constitution, which clearly states: "it is permitted for groups to meet peacefully, without weapons, in places open to the public, regardless of authorization". Likewise, while Boi Tolo prefers not to monetize their performances in private places, other groups such as Minha Luz é de Led, composed of professional musicians, monetize through parties promoted throughout the year in order to strengthen its brand, according to founder Arthur Ferreira[13].

The various formats and carnival parade proposals are also reflected in the different postures adopted by leagues in the face of issues such as performance merchandising, sponsorship and the Blocódromo itself. Thus, one realizes that this does not consist of a binary clash: parades on one side and Rio Carnival Arena on the other. Beyond what has already been discussed here, it is important to understand that the Blocódromo idea is not just about how Rio's City Hall views the party, but also about how parades perceive their activities and capacity of resilience and incorporation.

In this scenario Storey (2015, p. 178), citing Stuart Hall, classifies culture as a terrain of ideological struggles whose results occur through articulation. The contrast between millionaire figures that would be invested in the Rio Carnival Arena and the lack of financial support for street parades are also noteworthy, as pointed out by Sebastiana and Amigos do Zé Pereira leagues' representatives. While, according to City Hall, the project's resources would come from private sponsors, government-bidding documents reported that the money would come from City Hall's own depleted treasury, in consonance with *O Globo* (Boere & Magalhães, 2018, p. 10).

Towards this scenario, in order to identify Rio's City Hall's intentions regarding the Blocódromo, one is faced with another government decision regarding carnival: the subsidy reduction for Samba Schools[14] announced months prior to their performance, in July 2017. Even though Rio Carnival Arena ended up not costing anything to public treasury, the idea of this event revealed the municipality's preference for street parades over Samba Schools' performance since the traditional carnival float's rehearsals did not take place that year nor was there any project from the City Hall to organize them. This apparent preference for street parades is even more curious, given the articulation that

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[12] In an interview with this paper's author, by email, on December 19, 2018.

[13] In an interview with this paper's author, by email, on December 18, 2018.

[14] The *O Globo* journal (Marinatto, 2018, p. 9) pointed out that the nearly 3.3 million to be invested in the Rio Carnival Arena exceeded the amount destined to the city's kindergarten units. The article's intention to compare was to use the same argument Mayor Marcelo Crivella used when he decreased subsidy destined to Samba Schools in July 2017, claiming the need to redirect these amounts to day-care centers.

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The Blocódromo is out: the market takeover and the street parades in Rio · Tiago Luiz dos Santos Ribeiro & Felipe Ferreira

took place during the city's political campaign in 2016. Seen as important social mobilizers, most Samba Schools chose to declare their support for the candidate Marcelo Crivella, who ended up being the governor elect, while street parade members chose the opposition candidate, Marcelo Freixo, who ended up second on the election race (Alfano, Nunes & Lins, 2016, p. 15).

Marcelo Crivella, target of street parade's criticism, was decorated in the Simpatia é Quase Amor samba lyrics[15], in 2018. Although not directly mentioned, the lines suggested through its verses and references of actions taken by the mayor (who is also bishop of a Brazilian Evangelical Church): "Samba School rehearsals? He cancels / Samba performances? He destroys / African based cults? He does not tolerate / He only likes Nutella[16] parades / He does not care nor helps / Jongo's house? He forbids / In the name of God? He pleads / What is his name?" Following the same premise, Fernandes and Barroso (2018, p. 116) saw the parade's proposal as one of the attempts from the municipal authorities to "discourage consolidated cultural street activities".

According to Fernandes and Barroso (2018, pp. 115-116) one of these still to be implemented projects was that of Cultural Districts, which anticipated the separation of specific locations for street cultural activities, where free public events could take place without the need for an authorization from City Hall. In consonance to Nilcemar Nogueira, former Secretary of Culture, examples of sites comprised in the idea would be: Álvaro Alvim Street – where Rivalzinho, an opened music bar recently banned by City Hall is located (Guimarães, 2017, p. 2), Pedra do Sal – samba's place of birth where its performances are often object of retaliation by public agents[17], Ponto Chic at Padre Miguel neighborhood in the West Zone, Tiradentes Square – home to Pede Teresa samba performance which was vetoed by the Military Police (Gois, 2017, p. 10), and Aterro do Flamengo – where the Tambores de Olokun parade was stopped by a South Zone agent (Boere, 2017, p. 16):

> there is, in fact, no intention to foster such activities, but rather an attempt to control and monitor. In addition, other areas of effervescent street culture were not considered. The North Zone region that answers to 42% of Rio de Janeiro's population (...) was not considered in the Cultural Districts project. (...) Government agents predetermine viable public sectors in order to better control cultural activities through the justification that they have the street carnival festivities' interest at heart. One makes it possible for other activities to be legitimately suppressed by restricting street cultural production to selected locations. Thus, the undisguised retaliation

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[15] The composition from Manu da Cuíca, Luiz Carlos Máximo, Belle Lopes and Bil-Rait Buchecha is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d1JoGPiEahE

[16] The word "Nutella" is a slang in Brazilian Portuguese commonly used to define an "excess" of refinement added to an activity or object.

[17] The newspaper article from *Extra* entitled "Pedra do Sal cancels samba performances and blames Rio's municipal guard who denies intervention". Retrieved from https://glo.bo/2PIjxnC

> from public agents such as Military Police and City Hall's Guard give way to political decisions that weaken carnival's geographical reach. (Fernandes & Barroso, 2018, pp. 116-117)

In this context, Rio Carnival Arena as a City Hall project (and not one coming from the parades themselves) can be understood as a form of market appropriation since the authorities did not stand by their own proposal to alter the festivities location (Rangel, 2017, p. B7). This hypothesis makes even more sense as of Riotur's announcement that the participating parades would not be paid for their performances[18] (Boere, 2017, p. 5). For Cássio Novo, space management and structuring specialist, projects such as Rio Carnival Arena reveal hidden interests of groups eager to profit from the privatization of public spaces. In his words:

> [the interest of these groups] highlights the strategies of ownership of culturally built ways of celebration, turning them (even more so) into merchandise, throwing at the city yet another rational enterprise and monetizing on culture and the population's daily life. (Novo, 2018, p. 8)

In this regard, it is interesting to view the Rio Carnival Arena as a paradox in which the festivities that propose an inversion of social order are being articulated in order to benefit economic interests of those who seek to maintain public power. Similarly, according to Rita Fernandes (Frydberg, 2014, p. 10), newly created commercially targeted parades are a current tendency, "it consists of taking what is trendy, the type of music that sells the most, where one can fit the most people, where one can get better sponsorships and more money".

It is paramount to note that it would be frivolous to limit the process of carnival commercialization to sponsors, public agencies and new parades. Starting from Rio de Janeiro's successful street carnival in the beginning of the 21st century, many of the traditional parades were invited to perform at private events, as pointed out by Herschmann (2013). These approaches – including parties created by parades themselves[19] – reveal how the divide between carnival parades and partying has been narrowing. Thus, it is relevant to question beliefs viewing commercially targeted parades on one side and "culturally aware" parades on the other, since these definitions are mutable and only characterize the views of the groups that perform the critique.

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[18] Afterwards, according to *O Globo* Journal, the Project started to provide artistic allowances (*O Globo*, January 10, 2018, page 10)

[19] The idea of introducing eclectic party-like street parades at night to the city's revelry such as "Minha Luz é de Led", assembled by Biltre Band, is introduced at https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/carnaval/2018/noticia/musa-do-minha-luz-e-de-led-diz-que-bloco-representa-nova-tendencia-do-carnaval-do-rio.ghtml

On the one hand, in line with Rita Fernandes' criticisms, some parties have created their own street parades, such as Treta Bloco[20], Candybloco[21] and Bloco da Mug[22], generating new debates over the term "parade" since the events aforementioned are closed, paid and employ DJs rather than bands or orchestras. On the other hand, according to *O Globo*, at the same year of the Blocódromo project there was an event at the France-Brazil House called CasaBloco which promoted carnival dances, including the Sebastiana Dance – league presided by Rita Fernandes herself – with concerts from the Quizomba and Suvaco do Cristo parades (Sem sair do quadrado, 2018, p. 7).

In this regard, one can suggest that the condemnation of the party's commodification has more to do about who created the initiative than about the proposal itself. Therefore, it proves to be essential to analyze the criticism towards parades not only within the project's structural characteristics but also to take into consideration its creators. Thus, the lack of dialogue with those responsible to make the party happen – street parades – turns out to be a decisive factor to the failure of the proposal.

The blocódromo – the negotiation

Surrounded by criticism, the dismissal of the Rio Carnival Arena project would be announced almost a month after its first press release. According to the official version, after talking with sponsors and the Brazilian Hotel Industry Association (ABIH), and pursuant to *O Globo*, the proposal would be reformulated and its implementation postponed to July, turning the occasion into an off season event in order to allure more tourists (Prefeitura fará do Blocódromo uma festa julina, 2018, p. 10). In consonance with Helaide Teixeira, president of Banda da Barra, the league of parades from Barra da Tijuca neighborhood (SamBare) would promote off season events in the Rio Carnival Arena allegedly approved by Riotur (Callegari, 2018, p. 12). The project gained undeniable marketing character, therefore, aiming to stimulate tourism.

Months later, instead of coming to life in Barra da Tijuca, the Blocódromo would be once more mentioned in the newspapers. The newly reformulated project was again deliberating on carnival parades. A little more cautious about the geography of the festivities, 11 mega street parades with over 200 thousand revelers each would be granted a sole parade location this time, Primeiro de Março Street, downtown of Rio. The structure would not have turnstiles or stands nor would it use grids or concrete bars along the 3 kilometers area between Candelária Church and Presidente Antônio Carlos Avenue. Revelers would be thoroughly checked and searched and there would be no entry with bladed

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[20] Created in 2014, "Treta" party premiered its Treta Bloco in 2018, announcing that even though it was not mentioned on the City Hall's Official List, it would "officially" be a participant in the Rio Carnival Street Parade program, as seen at www.facebook.com/events/1973097796288365/

[21] Presented as Sapucaí's "one and only" gay box, candybox created its own street parade in 2017 (Guimarães, November 10, 2017, page 2).

[22] The Brazilian music party called "MUG" started holding balls entitled "MUG's party street parade), as seen in *O Globo* (Bailes e ensaios, 2018, page 16).

weapons or glass bottles allowed. The expectation was to receive a public of one million and host one megaparade per day (Caruso, 2018, p. 2).

It its noteworthy that, this time, the new Blocódromo arises as a result of extensive debate which considered Praia de Botafogo area (dismissed because of the need to block traffic in expressways) and Presidente Vargas Avenue in the downtown area (also dismissed because of the carnival floats in Marquês de Sapucaí). Unlike the former proposal, the debate regarding the new project lasted three months and was attended by parade representatives (Prefeitura fará 'blocódromo' no Centro para tirar desfiles da orla, 2018, p. 7).

Nevertheless, days later, the proposal would go through a setback. The city's heritage organisms (Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage – IPHAN and Rio Institute of World Heritage – IRPH) as well as the State Institute of Cultural Heritage-Inepac) showed concern about the one million people estimated flow and its impact on buildings and risk of vandalism in parade route comprising at least nine protected cultural assets. Among them one can mention the Nossa Senhora do Carmo Church (former metropolitan cathedral), the Imperial Palace, Bank of Brazil's Cultural Center (CCBB) and the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro (Oliveira, 2018, p. 6).

"They are not street parades with ground drums. They are carnival floats", pointed out Monica da Costa, Iphan's superintendent. As a solution, the heritage bodies proposed Presidente Antônio Carlos Avenue as a viable site since it has wider roads (Caruso, 2018, p. 6). During the dispute, Inepac director Marcus Monteiro threatened to sue Federal and State Prosecutors (Oliveira, 2018, p. 6).

In the end, once again, the Blocódromo did not come to life. Iphan settled an agreement with Rio's City Hall that consisted of putting up 2.2 meters aluminum grids around historic buildings and to restrict some megaparades to Antonio Carlos Avenue. Primeiro de Março Street worked only as a support area with Fire Department ambulance parking (Couto, 2019, p. 10). What is interesting about this decision is that the oldest carnival parade in activity, the Cordão da Bola Preta has been parading in Primeiro de Março Street for years and in 2018 reached a public of approximately one and a half million of revelers (Cardoso, 2018, p. 10). Thus, the new setback suffered by the Blocódromo shows how decisions related to Rio's carnival can expose new players' involvement as well as the complexity of these relationships.

Athough the Blocódromo may look like a failure it is relevant to note that the process did not end there. Apart from the possibility of a similar new proposal, which cannot be ruled out, since the conflicts that motivated the project are still ongoing, it is important to realize how this idea could have influenced other events. In 2019, for instance, open rehearsals for the Agytoê parade were held at Passeio Ernesto Nazareth [23], an open-air area in the port region and required ticket withdrawal via internet in order to better regulate the area's occupancy. A long access control and search line was formed at the

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[23] Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/events/310429579579678/

entrance[24]. Although the proposal was more democratic than the previous year's open rehearsal[25], which was held indoors with admission charges, would this not be an example of an adapted Rio Carnival Arena?

This account serves, once again, as a reminder of the negotiation capacity of players involved in cultural processes. It seems ironic, but it is possible to note that a project such as Rio Carnival Arena, accused of appropriating carnival demonstrations, could serve as inspiration for parades themselves. Through these alleged contradictions, Storey (2015) argues that objective here is not to attempt to measure and evaluate the coherence of one activity, but rather to break with the idea that it should contain a harmonious unity. The author prefers to suggest the explanation of these disparities through a conflict of meaning. That is, instead of just highlighting these inconsistencies, one could seek its motivations and influences.

In this respect, as noted throughout this article, similarities among projects that bring together street parades' performances outside public space helps one evaluate speeches related to them as well as to analyze factors such as: performance location and its relation to the festivities, the authorship of the initiative, their influence on not ending street revelry, etc.

Carnival parades, being a diverse set of carnival leagues, whether interested on capitalizing or not, are well aware of their value to the city. Whether through proposals such as Rio Carnival Arena or through the misuse of their brands[26], but mainly through the sponsorship obtained by the City Hall to enable parade performance, carnival parades have realized that the festivities' related speeches are often mistaken. Considering that parades are bolstered by constitutional right to freely come, go and assemble in public spaces it is not Rio's City Hall that raise sponsorships but rather the parades themselves who arouse the sponsors' interest, forcing the authorities to negotiate and profit from carnival related entities. Therefore, for projects like the Blocódromo to succeed it is paramount to include all interested players on the debate.

Final considerations

The succession of tensions and clashes in this article help demonstrate that the idea of a Blocódromo emerges as another stage of the "ordering" of carnival in which one can also mention the implementation of the 2009 municipal decree, which was implemented to define new norms for street carnival that prevails to this day. Therefore, it is not an isolated fact, but a way for a certain portion of society to reaffirm their way

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[24] Details noted by this paper's author when attending the event on January 20, 2019.

[25] Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/events/216636892228205/

[26] On March 5, 2019, the Cordão do Boitatá parade published a statement on its Facebook page regarding the improper use of its brand by the Antarctica brewery. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/cordaoboitata/posts/2546402015430299?hc_location=ufi. The "Salve Guanabara" party promoted the vent using images form the Boi Tolo street parade. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/SalveGuanabara/videos/2352826818074465/

of creating meaning to public spaces. Through the Rio Carnival Arena, one can note the criticism from residents bothered by street revelry, the ordering view of the City Hall and the street parades' market potential. By observing the countless attempts to create a Blocódromo, even the ones that did not come to life, one can also see how these initiatives articulate tensions involving various players. Similarly, the reformulations of the project, as well as the use of part of its concepts – even by parades themselves – show how this relationship is dialogical, non-binary and open to exchanges.

Analyzing the different ways of signifying public space from colonial times at the same time as to observe the influences of facts such as the transformations that took place in the city of Rio de Janeiro, both to welcome the royal family's arrival in 1808, such as the 2014 Fifa World Cup and the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games, helps one understand the motivations behind social changes by regarding the way in which people relate to and experience the city's spaces (Barroso & Gonçalves, 2016).

Through these space and meaning disputes, even in seemingly ill-fated projects, Rio's revelry develops, reconfigures and resignifies itself, in a process that catalyzes interests as diverse as those of groups that have to be known as street carnival parades. A movement that is justified through its own vitality.

Translation: Marco Antônio Junqueira Bersani

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Time of the community and time of tourism: notes about two festivities

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Abstract

This article explores some of the principal implications and challenges that the rising touristification process of religious and popular festivals may have for local communities, at a time when they are becoming potential tourist attractions, with rising exposure in a broad range of media. In Portugal, many popular festivities are annually celebrated that have a religious character and also reflect the intersection of various elements, linked to both the religious calendar, and to natural and agricultural time and to secular time. As with other types of popular and religious events, such festivities are increasingly seen as potential tourism "products" that can reveal the uniqueness of the host communities and attract visitors. In this text, we intend to discuss the theoretical and methodological difficulty of thinking about the festivity separately from the local population that organises and participates in it, and which feels it a core element of local identity. This exercise is based on analysis of information gathered from previous and ongoing research work into two festivities that are each experiencing such processes today, in their own different ways: the festivity of *Bugiada e Mouriscada*, or S. João de Sobrado, and the Semana Santa (Holy Week) of Braga.

Keywords

festivity; *Bugiada e Mouriscada* of Sobrado; Semana Santa of Braga; time, sustainability; community

O tempo da comunidade e o tempo do turismo: notas sobre duas festas

Resumo

Este artigo explora algumas das principais implicações e desafios que o processo crescente de turistificação das festas de caráter religioso e popular pode representar para as comunidades locais, num momento em que se tornam ofertas turísticas potenciais, com exposição crescente nos mais diversos tipos de média. Em Portugal, celebram-se anualmente muitas festas populares que, sendo de caráter religioso, são expressão do entrecruzamento de elementos diversos, ligados tanto ao tempo sagrado, como ao tempo natural e agrícola e ao tempo profano. Tal como acontece com outros tipos de eventos de caráter popular e religioso, as festas são cada vez mais perspetivadas como potenciais "produtos" turísticos que servem para expor a singularidade das comunidades detentoras e atrair a atenção de visitantes. Neste texto, pretende-se discutir a dificuldade teórica e metodológica de pensar separadamente o tempo da comunidade, do tempo do turismo, atendendo ao caráter identitário que a festa adquire. Este exercício é baseado

numa exploração de informação recolhida em trabalhos realizados e em curso acerca de duas festividades que passam, cada uma a seu modo, por estes processos na atualidade: a Bugiada e Mouriscada ou S. João de Sobrado e a Semana Santa em Braga.

Palavras-chave

festa; Bugiada e Mouriscada de Sobrado; Semana Santa de Braga; tempo; sustentabilidade; comunidade

Introduction

> You need to feel you dance well. It takes passion above all. It's the most beautiful dance that exists. You have to look at the dance with a sense of class because you are a *mourisqueiro*! A Moor! You're a pretty impressive guy! You wear an uniform, you have gold and a sword, you don't wear a mask. You wear boots and must dance well. You have to take pride in what you do. And if you're proud the dance also ought to be proud. Another essential thing, as a senior gentleman once said to me: always listen to the drum! It's the drum that controls everything. You only have one order to give, or two to be precise: to march faster, or slower, and you only have to give the order to "stop" and when it's time to stop, the rythm changes.
> (Resident in Sobrado, participant of the festivity of *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

The theorethical conceptions about mobilities in tourism, together with the study of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, have been having increasing ressonance in the researchers studies that analyse how local communities are been hited by tourism and seek to identify how tourists are building connections with the places (Domínguez, 2019).

Other analyses have focused on the tensions and implications of cultural tourism (and of cultural objects and rituals) supported by the media and sometimes encouraged by the local populations, configuring and giving meaning to cultural elements within local communities (Pinto-Coelho & Pinto, 2018). We are talking, in particular, about the ability of tourism to favour certain possibilities of disrupting the historical time of the local populations, urging them to adapt to other types time masterings, which are much more in line with the needs and the timings of the tourism offer. In any case, we are refering to a dynamics that is bringing about new forms of adjustment, adptation and resistence that need further elaboration.

From this perspective, this article questions and describes how and under what circumstances, tourism time intersects with the time and timings of the local community of (its) festivity.

The text is based on empirical analysis of two specific festivities: the festivity of S. João, in Sobrado and *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) in Braga. The festivity of S. João, in Sobrado, which is also known as the festivity of *Bugiada e Mouriscada*, has a recognised

cultural and heritage value. It is one of the characteristic events of the municipality of Valongo, in the district of Porto, in the North of Portugal. The *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) in Braga has also gained international recognition.

The empirical study used herein involved direct observation and interviews with residents and visitors at both festivities, complemented by research that took place during and outside the festivities during the year of preparation for the event.

Concepts and theoretical explorations

Contemporary societies have available instruments and devices that concur to the intensify the sense of instantaneity and to make the possibility of change space and time become true (Bauman, 1999). Several authors have critically analysed how the existence of such devices, which come together with the valorisation of mobility and lifestyles, brings about the need to manage constant challenges caused by disruptions of the natural, historical-social or cultural time of places, communities and groups (Berre & Bretesché, 2018; Bravo, 2010; Némoz, 2018; Jiménez, 2009; Tutiaux-Guillon, 2013).

Although being socially inequal, the permanent mobility and displacement mark contemporary life styles, now characterized by the capacity for nomadic wandering and constant discovery. Alongside this trend there is a rising possibility of using several technologies, that allows that any objet, event of phenomenon to be potencially made public at any moment and from any distance, as well as consumed immediately and at any time. Consumption feeds consumption and much of tourism activity has to do with the ability to produce artefacts, as well as practices and memories, that are not only immediately consumable, but can be consumed on a large scale and on a mass market basis. It is perfectly understandable to assume that any element subjected to tourist exploitation is under pressure to be constantly changed and reconfigured. This means to assume the relative fleeting nature of original or "authentic" elements. However, from the point of view of the structural time, any of the aforementioned objects can also become potentially mass-market tourist attractions as they become targets of specific mode of dessemination and exposure. This process is especially noticeable as regards religious or cultural tourism. This type of tourism takes into acount core identitarian elements, which are not only local, but also global (this is the case of the natural places which are "discovered" and open up for global touristic enjoyment).

Such "identities" commonly serve to "freeze" communties's times. This happens for many and diferente reasons that may be almost diametrically opposed – attempted ownership, local community spirit, regionalism, nationalism, or an attempt to foster a sense of openness, interaction, change, and sociocultural aspiration. There may be an intention to preserve communities as regards their caracteristics and natural "habitats", thereby positioning them in a circular time. But the goal may also be to offer them after being transformed in result of their exposure to tourism. It is clear that any process which aims to increase the social visibility of a cultural object, and in particular of festivities, events and performances, is vulnerable to this tension: between receiving an external

perspective, that may deliver possible material and symbolic rewards; and managing the effects of that process, that may imply responding to different rhythms. This is a tension that studies of development have been adressing. Arjun Appadurai's (2013) approach to the relationship between culture and economy should be highlighted, while asserting the need for more involvement of the local population in defining their future, avoiding their depletion. Festivities and performances, when they become the object of exposure and dissemination, raise the same tension between permanence and change; and between openness and resistance. As the valorisation of the "intangible products" become more evident, religious and cultural tourism offer increasingly more artefacts from the past. Therefore, time and temporality become also objects of exhange: the chance of manipulating time becomes a comercial objet. This also happens "with the fairs and the representative and celebratory recreations/performances of certain narrative events, which leads to the process of transformation that involves the fabrication of an experience to make it more attractive to the tourist" (McKercher, Ho & Cros, 2004, p. 395).

David Harvey (2016)[1], explaining the capitalist contours of current tourism projects, describes the processes of reconfiguration and exploitation of cities and urban spaces. He interprets tourism as one of the central axes of hypermodern capitalism, in which the experience of instantaneity is the central element of exchange. Harvey's thesis demonstrates that, when culture and heritage are offered for tourism consumption, they are likely to be increasingly subject to rapid and ephemeral experiences. This is because tourists are willing, above all, to "see" and to experiment, rather than to experience on a continuous or repeated basis. Tourists become "flaneurs" (Santos & Azevedo, 2019) who are active in the enjoyment of objects, processes and/or events and performances that tend to be renovated, in response to the tastes and requests of the general public. The same experience of temporal and "spatial flaneurie" can be incorporated in, and reproduced by, the festivity itself and translated into an alteration or reduction of performances/scenes, displacement of narratives and/or delay and time dilation. The literature identifies several implications suggested by the pressure to use festivals and festivities as tourism products and offerings. These relate to specific aspects, such as the existing physical space, risks and safety, number visitors and infrastructures, in general. But the question of the eventual dissonance of times is far less debated despite their importance for understanding (un)sustainability. That is, the dilemas between the time of the festivities and the time of the performances (which mixes and blends with the time of the community where the festivity is celebrated – endurance time); an the time of touristic activity and of its mediatic and economic exploitation (abstract and accelerated time). This last time normally introduces either acceleration of delay in the festivity or in the community.

In the opinion of Bernadette Quin (2009), while the socio-anthropological study of festivities has garnered a great deal of attention over time, enabling us to discover

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[1] Lecture by David Harvey (2016), entitled "Culture and cities: the challenge of tourism". Retrieved from http://www.cccb.org/en/multimedia/videos/culture-and-cities-the-challenge-of-tourism/225261#

and analyse an increasingly wide range of celebrations, there has been less interest in analysing the relationships of the impacts of tourism on festivities. In other words, there has been less analysis on the question of conflicts of time potentially originated by the "transformation" of the festivity (which may correspond to tidying, arranging or cleaning the most ugly or unpleaseant features of it) on the basis justifications advanced by those actors who intend to "valorise" the festivity through fostering their exposure as well as its ability to attract tourists.

Quin (2009, p. 16) analyses the ideas of authors such as Formica and Murrmann (1998) and Derret (2003), to suggest that residents play a central role in how festivals and events are associated with the local community's well-being, social cohesion and sense of identity. This idea gives substance to the thesis we have been outlining herein, concerning the interest in considering within analysis of the sustainability of the festival's tourism processes, the fusion of festivity time with community time, across various modalities – past, present and future.

And what does this means? Daniel Catala-Perez (2013, p. 165) notes that festivals are "cultural facts" that recall "non-religious things or events through ceremonies, rituals, celebrations and commemorations". In the author's understanding, these events are "transmitted by tradition". This means that the "identity" of the community and of individuals is intrinsically constructed in relation to these events. These "are" the community of belonging in itself, as if such festivities existed before the community. This is a complex challenge, from every perspective, both for those within the community and outside, and whatever their role or function.

One of the strongest criticisms of this way of perceiving the use of territories, places, festivities and/or rituals is the risk of their "decharacterisation", alienation and loss of ties that link each of these objects and/or phenomena to the community with which they merge, in the constitution of a unique and proper identity. As Muchazondida Mkono (2012) argues, the question of authenticity, in particular in the case of events and festivities, continues to pose a number of questions. On the one hand, because it facilitates the promotion of the festivity and its "popular" character, especially by a certain elite that may take material or symbolic advantage of the festivity material and symbolic use of the festivity. On the other hand, because "authenticity" is one of the most highly debatable qualities of any good/event (Rickly-Boyd, 2012).

From the perspective of Eva Parga and Pablo Alonso González (2019), sustainable tourism practices imply considering the social and symbolic value of places – which means taking into account their aesthetic and economic dimensions, as well the colateral risks. Culture is vulnerable to power games and political struggles. In fact, the discussions associated to the touristification of festivities and popular performances are recent and inevitably refer to the latent tensions brought about by the exposure of the festivity. In addition to this gap, they may be linked to strategies that expose "people" and their performances, making this people to be simultaniously consumer and objet of consumption(Catenacci, 2001).

Throughout history, religious festivities have played a fundamental role in organising community life. They play a vital role in dynamising the uses of time of the various groups in the local communities. As is highlighted by Durkheim (1979/1912), festivity time is an integral part of social time. Festivities therefore create times of rupture and of effervescence. Because they are integrated within communities' social rhythms, and are articulated with various other times, including agricultural rhythms. The latter, in turn, are associated with natural and religious rhythms that "mark" time, by institutionalising the moments of gratitude from the community to supernatural beings, in whom the community confides trust for protection over all fields of life. Festivities therefore play a decisive role in the development of economic activities (Amirou, 2007; Secall, 2009). In this context, we must analyse religious tourism as something that is profoundly linked to the religious calendar of a specific place (Tendeiro, 2010) and can be defined as "that type of tourism that is motivated by visiting holy places (shrines, convents, monasteries, churches, chapels, cathedrals) or participating religious celebrations (Holy Week in Seville, for example...)" (Parellada, 2009, p. 22).

Admittedly, modern-day religious tourism doesn't just concern religiously-motivated travel. Additional reasons for tourist mobility include the desire to learn about places, the search for isolation, individual reflexivity. There is therefore a difference between the religious tourist and the pilgrim who focuses on the "divine dimension of a sacred place" (Wiśniewski, 2019, pp. 206-207). Regardless of the definition that may be used, it should be noted that travel driven by tourist motivations associated with religious festivities and festive events has been gaining great prominence in the tourism market. This expansion inevitably raises several questions.

In the second part of this article, while maintaining the focus on enjoying the festivity as a tourism product that has the potential to attract outsiders to the festivity, we will explore several ideas about the festivity of S. João de Sobrado (*Bugiada e Mouriscada*) and the *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) in Braga.

S. João de Sobrado (*Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

Figure 1: Detail of the dance of the Bugios (S. João de Sobrado – *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)
Credits: Luís António Santos

The festivity of *Bugiada e Mouriscada* takes place on June 24, the day of the feast of São João (Feast of St. John the Baptist), in the village of Sobrado, municipality of Valongo (Pinto et al., 2016). The festivity takes place from dawn to dusk, it includes festive celebrations on the previous nights. Its structure is substantially the same as has been documented in previous works (Gallop, 1961/1936), although it has undergone several transformations in terms of content, including scenes and performances. The festivity focuses on the depiction or recreation of a legend about a dispute between Moors and Christians concerning the possession of the statue of São João. During the day, the non-religious scenes, characterised by performances involving the *bugios* and *mourisqueiros*, especially dances and unscripted staged performances, take place in various places of Sobrado, having as the main protagonists are the local residents. The religious ceremonies occur almost simultaneously and primarily take place in the church, including mass and a procession in which it is the *mourisqueiros* who carry the adorned litters with statues of the saints (Pinto et al., 2016).

One of the main features of this festivity is the connection with the local community and and the ability to reproduce itself in time. When community participants are asked why they like this festivity, they invariably give the same reply: "it's our passion. It's in our blood, it's a must (...) Yes, it's a must". Interviews with people in the community show that there is no one who doesn't take part in the festivity in any way and at some point in their life: "if S. João disappeared I think this parish would be disoriented. Seriously! It's our point of reference, for good and bad". The sense of belonging and "ownership" of the festivity underpins and configures the community's collective identity. "Because it's a tradition. It is many years old. I can't explain. We like it so much, we can't even explain it. We work the entire year for this, for a day that goes by so fast" (resident in Sobrado, participant of the festivity *Bugiada e Mouriscada*).

The following excerpt highlights this complex feeling of identification with the festivity, not only for what it is at present, but mainly for what it represents throughout the local peoples' lives and, therefore, for what it has brought them in terms of construction of day-to-day life:

> the passion is the hardest thing to explain. For me passion is what we feel and we live in our extreme fantasy in which we (...) passion, passion is that situation when you know that you just arrived to that day and you know that you will participate in what you love, and that means a lot to you. (resident in Sobrado, participant of the festivity of *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

To feel "passion" for the festivity is something which is cultivated since an early age, when the involvement with the various activities and imaginaries begins to takes shape. This "passion" for the festitivy correspond to the structural colletive consicence which acts in favour of the community cohesion and integration. That is why people say that the festivity is something that "is in our blood", undisputed, "innate", a visceral part of the body and soul of the local residents. There is an intrinsic fusion of individuals with the community in the festivity, and through the festivity.

It's the pleasure of the festivity. I remember this since I was 7 or 8 years old. We enjoy taking part. It's in the blood. When I was young, in my twenties, early twenties, and I got back home at 5 am, I would lie down in bed, having drunk a bit and would say "I'm not going!" But when you hear the first *bugios* walking past, making the rattling noise, "tlim tlim tlim", I'd join in, still drunk from the night before! They passed by with their rattles, "Tlim, Tlim, Tlim!" and I would put on my costume and off I'd go! (resident of Sobrado, participant of the festivity of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

For me, the Prison of the Old Man is an amazing moment, but for me if I don't see the Entrance Dance of the Bugios I miss everything. It's the height of the festivity for me, because there everything belongs to you. It is when you show to your people who you are and why did you wait and battled and sacrificed over so many years. The avenue is your´s. Everyone is looking at you and you feel a great sense of responsibility. Do I miss it? Yes, a lot. (resident of Sobrado, participant of the festivity of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

The figure below presents a short result of a content analysis made to the answers given to a survey with open questions and to which 63 people answered on the day of the festivity, in 2016. The analysis shows that the festival of S. João de Sobrado is understood as one of the main elements of Sobrado identity. It's a "genetic" feature because it represents "tradition" and corresponds to "passion", it is in "blood" and in the "heart", it gives people the "shivers" and is "different".

Figure 2: Classifications of the festivity of S. João de Sobrado, *Bugiada e Mouriscada*, by residents and participants
Source: Questionnaire survey given to visitors to the festivity (2016, N=63)

"Openness" and "expansion" to tourism therefore raise tensions. There is also the tensions linked to the fear of loosing the festivity. It is well known that the festivity can be moved in time or space, in order to correspond to tourism programmes. For this reason, local residents are vigilant about how the festivity can become the object of more

mass-market tourism consumption. The openness to tourism can also coincide with an alteration in its date. In other words, the festivity can be the object of reproduction and simulation, in order to be seen, lived and interpreted or publicly experienced – by other people. For the community, this is a difficult challenge to accept due to the fear that such exposure or dissemination will reduce the festivity's dramatic breadth and effervescence (in terms of "colour" and "dust") and become a mere caricature of itself.

> It has already been taken to Porto. I think that it was a misinterpretation of the festivity, by one person who wanted to take it there, not of the people who took part. But I think it should not be taken there. They took the masks from here, the hats, the clothes, to bring some colour, but the essence of the festivity and the sense of curiosity that should be cultivated in people to see what the festivity truly is – is all about the smell, the taste, the dust, its only in June 24, in Sobrado. I think the festivity should be publicised as much as possible, regardless of whether or not there's room for us all. If there isn't enough room, some people leave , so the other can stay. Just like in other festivities. (Resident of Sobrado, participant of the festivity of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

This vigilant posture is not however shared by everyone, in the same way. On the one hand, there is interest in broadening dissemination of the festivity at home and abroad. Therefore, they talk of the need to expand dissemination of the festivity through the national television channels. On the other hand, there are several limits to such exposure, in particular associated with infrastructures, resources and limits regarding "ownership" of the festivity and its eventual "decentralisation". The excerpt below reveals these tensions. The interviewee begins by emphatically underlining the need for the festivity to remain the same: "it's like this [the festivity, as it is now]: you either like it or you don't". Even though interviewee explains why it is important to disseminate the festivity, it is not presented as an objet of tourism attraction that can be transformed:

> it's like this [the festivity, as it is now]: you either like it or you don't. They [the politicians] already disseminate it. They already wanted to classify it as who knows what kind of heritage. Well there have been some things (...) but on the day of *S. João* you see exactly the same people. You may see a journalist, a photographer, a television channel, like Porto Canal or so on, but you don't see anyone from Spain, France, the Algarve, or Lisbon (...) It's like this: to like it, we also don't have many resources to welcome these people here. It's like [refering to the festivity x], our festivity is much better than [this festivity], but that is always on television. Sometimes they interview people who come from far away to see the festivity. Round here even if people travel to get here, it's from the local area. You might see someone, I don't know, for example, Mr. X's brother who has already brought so many

people here, but they're all from this area, Campo, Valongo (...). People hear about it, but they never come here to see it (resident of Sobrado, participant of the festivity of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*).

Now, if this really expands beyond the district of Porto, instead of dancing for 40 minutes we'll have to dance for two and a half hours so that everyone can see. That's the difference, and that's what scares me a lot. We won't be able to cater to so many spectators. That's my main fear. Besides, I think everyone should watch and specifically know about the story of S. João de Sobrado. Now that scares me a lot. Imagine if there were 10,000 people here! And now imagine 100,000! When you watch S. João you'll see the spectacle, which is a huge crowd of people watching. If this became known worldwide, where are we going to put so many people? What will happen to the parish of Sobrado? You understand? That scares me. Now the festivity will always be the same. Always with the same die-hard fans and always with my same bugios, trying to maintain the tradition. (resident of Sobrado, participant of the festivity of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

The festivities just happen. They have a specific moment in time to reveal themselves. They imply a performance and this takes place on a specific moment: the day of the festivity. People are not willing to change and this prospect is experienced with anxiety. In this festivity, there are variations in the number of participants in each performance, whose duration also alters. The costumes used have also evolved over the years. But all these variations pass through critical analysis, as it can be noticed from the following excerpt.

I was raised here, the *Bugiada* means a lot to me (...) you have to take part and be critical, in a dual sense: we are critical before, during and after the festivity. Because being critical is also part of the involvement and testimony. We're critical, because we like it. If we sometimes criticise something, it's constructive criticism. If you ask me a question now: "if you were [this character] again would you do exactly what you did?" and I'll reply: "I will try to do exactly what I did and something more!". And something different! There is one thing that I should have done, I did it, but I did it badly, I should have done it better. (Resident of Sobrado, participant of the festivity of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

The next excerpt demonstrates the intrinsic need to preserve the festivity that participants view as being "ours," even though, as we said before, they see it as "publicised" and made known to those who aren't required to know all the intricate details of it, but only its manifestations.

> It's beautiful to show this to other people in the country, to show them that we have a beautiful festivity here, beautiful in our eyes because it's ours. I know that friends who came here enjoyed it, and were delighted with the festivity's beauty, and many of them aren't even aware of what is going on, but people are astounded by the dances, the gestures. I think the media should disseminate more, but to achieve this the people here also have to work more, it's not up to outsiders to work, the locals have to show what they want. Whether they want it to be disseminated or not (...). But it's good that they spread the word, and that many people visit. If it's positive for other people, why shouldn't it be for us? (Resident of Sobrado, participant of the festivity of the *Bugiada e Mouriscada*)

In the specific case of this festivity, considerations about the various times that clash, or may enter into conflict, are more evident when the festival becomes a potential tourism attraction. These should be considered in relation to analysing the sustainability of this process: i) the structural and historical time of the community, in which the celebration is assumed as a kind of foundational myth, in this case, of the parish, whose identity is renewed and celebrated each time that the festivity is annually atualised; ii) the time of the festivity, which is organised in direct correspondence with this structural time and sense of identity (which is linked to various other annual rhythms and times and during the day of the festivity itself); iii) and the actual and chronological time in which the festivity takes place and is organised (the time that includes how the community is, how it is perceived in a specific year).

Semana Santa (Holy Week) of Braga

Religious tourism, black tourism and cultural tourism are strongly linked to religious heritage, imprinted in objects of material heritage and, above all, in religious and holy festivities, celebrations and events.

Travel to religious places is an important subsector of Europe's tourism market, and it is associated to the progress of globalisation (Ritzer & Liska, 1997). Every year more than 300 million people visit the world's most important holy shrines (UNWTO, 2016). Religious tourism is particularly difficult to define, since it is a phenomenon that combines various different motivations and practices. Visiting a religious site is not only a personal pilgrimage, associated with religious devotion, it may also be combined, alternatively or concomitantly, with cultural and entertainment motivations. A trip of religious pilgrimage almost always means that pilgrims are religious tourists, since they adapt their trip to the characteristics of the tourist process, i.e. assuming a tourist consumption behaviour (Santos, 2006).

Participation in religious events has been transformed into an expression – for local residents – and an experience – for visitors – of local traditions, linked to the cultural identity of the respective places and their residents. This means that religious pilgrimage is not an end in its own right, but part of a multiple and hybrid practice that cumulatively

involves a religious experience (individual and collective), the chance to visit local cultural heritage sites (churches, monasteries, museums, etc.), to visit nearby towns, enjoyment of local culture (gastronomy, crafts, etc.). We can therefore affirm that not all the tourists who visit religious places today have religious motivations, since they may also have cultural, historical, architectural or other interests (Neves, 2010; Fernandes, Pimenta, Gonçalves & Rachão, 2012).

It is therefore difficult to draw a line between non-religious travel and pilgrimage, because having religious motivations is not mutually exclusive of also having non-religious motivations. From the point of view of Tourism Studies, the distinction between non-religious tourist practices and religious-oriented practises becomes irrelevant; what we find is a combination of religion, culture and tourism. As (Amirou, 2007, p. 138) stated "modern religious practices are part of the broader category of leisure activities".

Braga is renowned for its religious festivities, in particular its Catholic ones. Known as the "city of the Archbishops", it has numerous religious references, including churches, chapels, monasteries, seminaries, museums and statues that are linked to the Catholic church. *Semana Santa* (Holy Week) in Braga is a major celebration that involves thousands of participants, visitors and the local population. Over the years this event has become an icon of the city, both due to the grandeur and complexity of the religious celebrations, and the cultural events included within the programme of the Semana Santa.

A commission is responsible for organising the Semana Santa, consisting of members of the Church – including the Cabido (priests corporation) of Braga Cathedral, the Irmandade da Misericórdia (confraternity), the Irmandade de Santa Cruz (confraternity) – as well as non-religious institutions such as Braga City Council, the Turismo do Porto e Norte de Portugal (tourism board) and the Associação Comercial de Braga [Braga Commercial Association]. But this wasn't always the case. These entities have become involved in the initiative over the years, as a result of the Semana Santa's major impact on the city.

In 1948, the poster for Semana Santa already invited people to visit the city. Emphasis should be placed on the slogan that refers to the "impressive religious ceremonies", and which highlights the importance and valorisation of the religious feature.

Figure 3: Poster for Semana Santa (1948)
Source: https://semanasantabraga.com/arquivo/cartazes/

On April 17, 1965, the headline of the *Diário do Minho* newspaper was: "alongside the thousands of people already in Braga, many other thousands joined them yesterday for the Good Friday celebrations". Already in this period many people visited the city to take part in the religious festivities. In 1986, there was a reference to tourism in the posters for the Semana Santa. Over the years there has been an increased support for the event, in particular from Braga City Council and Braga Commercial Association.

Figure 4: Poster for Semana Santa (1997)
Source: https://semanasantabraga.com/arquivo/cartazes/

In 2002, there began to be interest in increasing the level of religious tourism, due to the high number of tourists who visited the city during the religious celebrations. In this context, Braga Commercial Association presented the project "Religious Tourism – promotion and stimulation of religious tourism as a driver of regional development" (2003), whose main objective was to attract more visitors to the city. In 2013, the need to "secure tourists" was a major goal of the Semana Santa's organisational committee. To this effect, several exhibitions were inaugurated and the procession of guides was organised to introduce the people of Braga and tourists to the heritage sites that lie behind Braga's "Processions of the Steps" (the steps of the Stations of the Cross). The "guides" are typical flags, with a high emotional and symbolic value, used in the "Processions of the Steps" in the parishes.

From 2003 onwards, according to data from the Braga Tourism Office, there has been a significant growth in the number of visitors to the city of Braga, accompanied by significant changes to the programme of Semana Santa, which now includes concerts, exhibitions and conferences. The processions include theatrical performative scenes, as well as processions and religious celebrations in the Sé Catedral. According to a study conducted in 2011 by Turismo Porto e Norte de Portugal (tourism board), tourists visit the city of Braga during Semana Santa mainly for leisure reasons. The study reveals that tourists appreciate, first and foremost, the beauty of the squares/streets and secondly

the diversity of processions/events. This demonstrates that tourists pursue more cultural than religious activities during their visit to the city of Braga, during the Semana Santa celebrations.

As the city increases its national and international recognition, due to its religious and cultural attractions, there has been fast-growing interest of secular entities, which are intrinsically or historically linked to Semana Santa. This promises to increase the dissemination of the festivity and "transform" it, to establish a major tourism attraction for visitors from other parts of Portugal and abroad. The Semana Santa's programme involves an increasingly broader range of *stakeholders*, and shopowners are encouraged to create shop displays that allude to the festivities. Residents can also take part in various initiatives integrated within the programme, such as photo competitions, which aim to foster dissemination and public involvement.

In this case, the most evident tensions aren't related to the intrinsically identity-based identification between the festivities and the local population, as was mentioned in relation to the festivities of S. João de Sobrado. Instead the main tension lies between religious tourism and mass-market tourism, of ephemeral consumption, which is valued primarily as a form of cultural heritage than an example of religious devotion and experience. The Archbishop-Primate of Braga stated to the *Diário do Minho* (March 29, 2015, p. 7) that Semana Santa "cannot be an organisation of cultural events" that stimulate tourist activity. In his opinion, "Braga should be able to maintain the most important dimension of Semana Santa. The most important thing is contemplation of Christ's cross". He added that "Semana Santa shouldn't just be a well-organised tourism programme, it must say what has to be said, and must talk to people's hearts".

But it is clear that, over time, the non-religious entities have intensively fostered the event as a tourist attraction through the media, promoting partnerships with local businesses. In an interview, Braga City Council's Councillor for Culture and Education[2] stated that:

> we have to be good hosts, so that the word of mouth is positive. The fact that the television stations visit us to produce news bulletins makes all the difference. The power of television is very considerable, but we still suffer from our remote location. It's a religious event that amazes people, even non-believers.

During the same interview, the councilwoman, Lídia Dias, stated that "the Semana Santa committee also has to make a leap, because it is very closed and very difficult; to face the ever-increasing challenges of tourism promotion, one has to adopt a different perspective".

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[2] Interview conducted by Márcia Silva, Braga (2015).

Figure 5: Poster for Semana Santa
Source: https://semanasantabraga.com/arquivo/cartazes/

In 2012, several Semana Santa gadgets were produced as a way of promoting the image of the city's celebrations and souvenirs. The main figure is the "Farricoco" (the masked penitents of the Ecce Homo procession). However, there are other, such as postcards, photographs, and school stationery. In parallel to the religious festivities, the "Braga Easter Market" was created. This provides entertainment activities in the historic centre and introduces visitors to the products of the region, such as handicrafts and sweets. According to information collected in a survey (n=45), the resident population recognises the interest in expanding Semana Santa events (Silva & Ribeiro, 2018). Residents say that economic benefits is one of the positive aspects of the festivities. They also highlight that the festivities foster a greater sense of pride in their city. They consider that Braga is prepared to welcome tourists, because it holds a very good network of hotel offers. In addition, they say that Braga offers good conditions to visitors and has abundant and well-structured information available online. Increased pollution and parking problems are some of the aspects that cause dissatisfaction. However, residents are strongly resistent to alter the festivity and to handle with the effects brougth about by the increased number of visitors, as well as by the transformation verified in the sequence of the performances which make part of the festivity.

Conclusion

The two festivities discussed in this article are both religious, but they are quite distinct in how they have developed over time and as regard the community's connection with them. They also differ with respect to the incorporation of non-religious elements and their importance in defining the identity of the festivity.

The *Bugiada e Mouriscada* of Sobrado, largely consists of those elements, which construct various choreographic and theatrical performances and scenes that include, within the festive moments, rituals of reversal of roles and criticism of the community's day-to-day life, especially of the local powers. Touristification of the festivities raises

several questions from a theoretical and practical-political perspective. Not only because the festivities are cyclic manifestations rooted in the identity of the local communities, that become the object of observation and exposure to different audiences, but also because they are fluid, transitory, and dynamic realities that are traversed by various processes of transformation and reconfiguration.

The empirical cases we have studied, and more specifically in the case of the festivities in Sobrado, reveal constant concern about the eventual lost of the festivity because of its dissemination as well as of the possible attempts to tone down its most subversive features. Considering concepts such as authenticity, popular culture and the time horizon, it is important to establish ways to live and forge a dialogue between the past of the local communities ant its future. This means that the festivity cannot be viewed by the community as a closed time, with a frozen date, from which fixed relationships can be established over time with visitors. Nor can it be understood by stakeholders as a repository of past time, that is sometimes nostalgically revisited. It is necessary to preserve it as an element of popular culture.

In both of the festivities analysed herein, the discourses of the local residents and participants are ambivalent. Firstly, in relation to the benefits of media exposure of the festivities, which they consider to be important and necessary, in order to make the festivities known to the rest of Portugal and the world. Secondly, concerning the challenges that such exposures poses from a spatial and logistical perspective and in the times of, and for, the festivity. It is also evident that local residents and participants in both festivities, especially in the festivities of *Bugiada e Mouriscada* experience more or less consciously the dilema between opening the festivity to other communities, claiming that festivity must be known as an old century tradition, and preserving it in a way that it can persist as "authentic".

Therefore, the discussion that we may put forward about the implications and challenges brought about by the use of intangible goods implies to mobilize several concepts and consider the need to promote knowledge about the all the processes that may contribute to te dessimination or conception of new touristic offers. This participative dimension is fundamental considering two reasons. On one hand, there is a strong emotional and identitarian conection between the population in relation to those aspects that they consider as being their essence. But in other hand, there are new forms of living, looking, experiencing and consuming the festivity, including those enunciated by experts, politicians and academics.

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The production of meaning in the dialectic of historical reconstruction of "Congado" in Uberlândia

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Abstract

Is it possible that the production of meaning of "Congado", in the daily life of the city of Uberlândia, can be ratified by the historical reconstruction of the past struggle for black identity, without the risk of depoliticization of the subjects by the beauty of the folkloric representation or by being a tourist attraction? This is the problem analyzed in this article, which aims at historically examining the production of meaning of "Congado" in the city of Uberlândia, MG, Brazil. The death of ancient personalities and the need for renewal have created a disruption between the present and the past. It is as if the threads of tradition were being broken. These questions lead us to undertake cultural analysis, through Cultural Studies, in which historicity, dialectic and the subjects in movement constitute primordial factors, to understand the history of Congado amid the dialectical complexity of its historical course.

Keywords

Congado; daily life; Cultural Studies; dialectic; communication

A produção de sentido na dialética da reconstrução histórica do Congado em Uberlândia

Resumo

Será que a produção de sentido do presente do Congado, no cotidiano de Uberlândia, pode ser ratificado pela reconstrução histórica do passado da luta pela identidade do ser negro, sem que recaia na despolitização dos sujeitos pela beleza da representação folclórica ou de ser atrativo turístico? Esse é o problema que move este artigo para analisar historicamente, no campo da comunicação, a produção de sentido do Congado em Uberlândia. A morte de velhas personalidades e a necessidade de renovação deixou em aberto uma ruptura do presente para o passado. É como se o fio da tradição estivesse se rompendo. As perguntas nos remetem a percorrer a análise cultural, por meio dos Estudos Culturais, em que a historicidade, a dialética e o sujeito em movimento se constituem como fatores primordiais para compreender a história do Congado em meio à complexidade dialética do percurso histórico.

Palavras-chave

Congado; cotidiano; Estudos Culturais; dialética; comunicação

Introdução

Is it possible that the production of meaning of "Congado"[1], in the daily life of the city of Uberlândia, can be ratified by the historical reconstruction of the past struggle for black identity, without the risk of depoliticization of the subjects by the beauty of the folkloric representation or by being a tourist attraction? This is the problem analyzed in this article, which aims at historically examining the production of meaning of "Congado" in the city of Uberlândia, Minas Gerais, Brazil. This article is the result of reflections and practical development of the research: "the construction of popular identity in the communicative process: cultural analysis of the production of meaning and representation of Congado in the daily life of Uberlândia", which began in 2018, with funding from FAPEMIG – Minas Gerais State Research Support Foundation.

If, on the one hand, we have to consider the theoretical problem underlying the analysis of Congado in Uberlândia, on the other, we need to consider the daily dialectic in which subjects are inserted. The first dilemma lies in the very conception of experience that has emerged through oral discourse. The death of ancient personalities and the need for renewal have created a disruption between the present and the past. It is as if the threads of tradition were being broken. The new generations entering the Terno Congado Sainha[2] [Sainha Congado Suit] not only do not know the subjects who struggled in the past to maintain this manifestation, but also make possible the production of other meanings related to their participation in the *Terno*. The following is a dilemma discussed by Benjamin. The question, which reflects denunciation of the poverty of experience, still resounds and resonates with the present:

> moreover, everyone knew precisely what experience was: older people had always passed it one to younger ones. It was handed down in short form to sons and grandsons, with the authority of age, in proverbs with an often long-winded eloquence, as tales; sometimes as stories from foreign lands, at the fireside. – Where has it all gone? Who still meets people who really know how to tell a story? Where do you still hear words from the dying that last, and that pass from one generation to the next like a precious ring? Who can still call on a proverb when he needs one? And "who will even attempt to deal with young people by giving them the benefit of their experience?".
> (Benjamin, 1986, p. 1)

In order to research this dilemma it is necessary to examine the historical reconstruction of the popular in Uberlandia. For the struggle that takes place in popular culture

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[1] "Congada" or "Congado" is a Brazilian cultural manifestation of African and Catholic influence. The groups of Congado are composed of a series of popular ritual acts, which enables them to preserve their tradition. But, at the same time, they adopt a dynamic stance, which keeps them alive over time. Between religiosity and profanation, Congado is a party with ethno music enchanting attractions (Gabarra, 2003).

[2] *Ternos* are groups that gather together under the influence of an African macro culture and make up the Brazilian cultural manifestation called "Congado". Each *Terno* has, as its core, a consanguineous family, which forms a large group also considered as family. The *Terno* may have up to four captains, with the first captain representing the father of that group, and his blood son is to replace him when he dies (Gabarra, 2003).

and oral history, it is necessary to understand that the emergent demand to intervene in the present comes from the group itself. This is true even if the concept of orality, materialized in tradition, is examined through dialectical movement. There is, initially, identification of the act of valuing the ancient subject as life experience. At the same time recognizing that the historical course of Congado in Uberlândia can be narrated through life stories. In this context, the ancient subject may suffer resignification, and lived experience is an important element to unveil the concept of Congado.

But, on the other hand, the emerging significance reveals that the strength of this experience of the ancient is steeped in the past. This configures a separation that is not only generational. The absence of the voice of these ancient subjects, as direction of meaning for new generations, indicates that it needs to be contextualized in the present. And this is the significance of orality: the transmission of the social nature of the organization of *Ternos*, simply through oral knowledge, is now requested to be transposed into the image recording system of the ancients. Far from being merely a procedure of methodological variation, it is necessary to problematize this substantive change, from oral to video, from method to theory. For there is something uncomfortable in considering that ancient is to be assisted by young people so that it can be revealed as a historical subject and lead the new generation to understand the same sense of the present through the dilemmas and tensions of the past. From the simple procedural movement, video presents a challenge: to avoid that the defined means to grasp the image of the other. The ancient "congadeiro", does not establish itself as a deterministic factor, as an end in itself, of the reading of the young, in the present, about the culture of Congado.

It is this concept of culture that becomes important to problematize, in this social context, from the theoretical defense of the centrality of culture proposed by Stuart Hall. The author considers two factors for understanding culture as the foundation for understanding reality: the noun and the epistemological:

> by substantive, we mean the place of culture in the actual empirical structure and in the organization of activities, institutions, and cultural relations in society at any particular historical moment. By epistemological, we refer to culture's position on issues of knowledge and conceptualization, on how culture is used to transform our understanding, explanation, and theoretical models of the world. (Hall, 1997, p. 15)

The place of culture, in the empirical structure, leads us to understand daily life as meaning production for the construction of the identity of the *Terno Sainha* in Congado. Here arises a first dialectical indication for reflection: daily life as the state of tension and conflict, as proposed by Certeau (1995), or as the confrontation of determination in the process of identity construction, according to Hall (2003). In considering Congado as a movement of subjects in history, we must consider as natural the incorporation of other elements in the identity process. Here it is essential to discern the meaning of this movement. May the incorporation of other evaluative elements in the current culture of

Congado, to express the production of meaning in daily life, be considered as resignification? Or is it a deviation of meaning that may somehow trap the *Terno* in a presentification in which it empties its historicity? The question sometimes leads us to the translation of culture as a noun, sometimes moves us to the need for understanding it in its epistemological conception.

The initial problem of the *Terno* lies in the distancing in which the temporalities of ancient and young are tensioned in their present encounter. Here is the question: Is there a risk that the past will be considered as meaningless for the present? How strongly can problems of the past history of Congado reorient young people's present meaning production to build other values? And how can past experience not be conducted as a violence of tradition to the new generation? These questions lead us to undertake cultural analysis, through Cultural Studies, in which historicity, dialectic and the subjects in movement constitute primordial factors, to understand the history of Congado amid the dialectical complexity of its historical course.

In dealing with the concept of culture, we must clarify that Congado's analytical interpretation is based on what is called the communicative process. It is necessary to understand the totality of this communicative process in order to apprehend the interpretation of Congado in Uberlândia. The first aspect is the critique of a positivist approach to communication which places the sender of a message in decontextualized and fragmented situations in relation to its receiver. In this continuum, there is also criticism of the concept of communication as the transmission of information. This delineation then directs us to another aspect of speech: the production of meaning by the subjects who express themselves as both senders and receivers. In relation to the latter, the elaboration of meaning can be articulated by the process of consumption, circulation and interpretation of news. What is emphasized here is the refusal of any technological determinism or behavioral assumption of effect that signals other theoretical conceptions as communication.

There is an explicit defense, in Cultural Studies, that the analysis of daily life is performed from the perspective of the other, who is marginalized in the formation of the history. If theories present conceptions from the masses and from the receiver as a conscious object or subject, we assume that the identification of the subject's tactics and strategies and their effectiveness in the communication process will lead to a return of the path of confrontation with other perspectives of reality. What we defend here is the notions of memory and past as historical movements and the subject as theoretical defense.

The concepts of tactics and strategies are linked in the conception posed by Michel de Certeau (1994):

> tactics are procedures that are worth (something was skipped, it was probably worthwhile) for the relevance they give to time – to the circumstances which the precise moment of an intervention turns into a favorable situation, to the speed of movements that change the organization of space, to

the relationships between successive moments of a coup, to the possible intersections of durations and heterogeneous rhythms. (Certeau, 1994, p. 102)

As the author contextualizes, the tactic is, thus, movement within the enemy's field of vision and in the space controlled by him; "in short, tactics are the art of the weak" (Certeau, 1994, p. 102).

The main goal here is to understand how the production of meaning narrated by the history of Congado, from the articulation of the struggles of the popular in the history of Brazil, can be understood as identity construction, or whether it is redefined by the embodied representation of the violence that afflicts it. Here the primordial difference is established to immerse us in the methodological proposal of Cultural Analysis: it is about understanding the dilemmas of identity that arise from the tension and conflict present in the lived experience of the subject. On the other hand, it is about understanding how determination of the power relations suffered by the *Ternos* of Congado in the course of history is characterized as violence and how this violence reorients the construction of the subjects in this process. The first step in this descriptive analysis is to understand, even if in synthesis, the trajectory of the meaning of Congado in Uberlândia and the way this relationship with the concept of the past may be established and translated as memory.

Congado in Uberlândia

Congado emerged as a self-affirming dance of identity and an instrument of social resistance. It represents the coronation of the kings of Congo and Angola, and the struggles among African kingdoms. It incorporates the worship of the patronized Catholic saints of the enslaved, such as St. Benedict, Our Lady of the Rosary, St. Efigenia, and St. Elesbão, into the elements of African tradition. It occurs in several states of Brazil, with greater representation in Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Goiás and Paraná. It is also characterized as Candombe, Mozambique and Congo (Munanga & Nilma, 2004). The gathering of all the *Ternos* is the Congada. "*Terno* of Congada is understood as the different groupings of congadeiros that commonly participate in the Congada festivals throughout Brazil. These can be divided into different types: Mozambiques, Congos, *catopés*, sailors, plumes, villains, among others" (Macedo quoted by Carvalho, 2008, p. 3).

The first reports of Congado registered in the city of Uberlândia date from 1874, when blacks enslaved on the farms began to gather near the place known today as Posto da Matinha. From there, the gathering moved to Bambus Square and then to Dr. Duarte Square, where it stayed for a few years. A church was built there, but the area around it was an elite region which sheltered farmers and merchants. In order to keep the festivities far from the city center, the congadeiros were moved, in 1891, to a peripheral area, now known as Rui Barbosa Square. A chapel was established so that black people could say their prayers separated from white people. It was named Igreja do Rosário [Church of

the Rosary], as was the celebration in praise of Nossa Senhora do Rosário [Our Lady of the Rosary], and inaugurated on October 7 (Brasileiro, 2019).

After the work was completed, the chapel was given to the "Confraria do Perpétuo Socorro" [Confraternity of Perpetual Help], made up of white women from the hegemonic social group, of the Paróquia Nossa Senhora do Carmo [Parish of Our Lady of Carmo]. In 1916, the black devotees of the Rosary of Mary organized the Irmandade Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens de Cor [Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black People] and, thereafter, became responsible for the church. This change concerning the control of the key of the church "would produce an institutional breakdown. The women associated with the Confraternity, started to hold the celebration of the Virgin of the Rosary in October, causing the blacks to hold their celebrations in November" (Brasileiro, 2019, p. 95). In addition to the change of date of the celebration of the festival of Congado, the Brotherhood began to suffer impositions of norms and rules determined by the Diocese.

The city expanded and, in 1930, the current building of the Rosary Church was designed and built with the collaboration of the local population. The press at the time reported that the new construction, with its imposing architecture, was more suitable and would beautify the square. (Lopes, 2007) Pharmacist Cicero Macedo de Oliveira, having built his residence at the back of the chapel, took "the initiative to raise a new church in the same place, but with its front facing north – towards Floriano Peixoto Avenue and Afonso Pena" (Teixeira, 1970, p. 180). Brazilian notes that:

> if, on the one hand, Tito Teixeira informs that the construction of the church was the result of the support of the always solicitous people of Uberlândia, who contributed with financial resources for the building of the church, through liberal professionals, and merchants such as Cicero Macedo, Abelardo Pena, Arlindo Teixeira and Manoel Alves, on the other hand, a testimony of Manoel Rodrigues Siricoco, captain of Moçambique de Belém, reinforces, through oral discourse, the participation of the Congado community in the construction of this second Church. (Brasileiro, 2019, p. 117)

"Every person who came from the countryside brought a car loaded with wood, he would come and, if he sold the wood for twelve thousand *réis*, two thousand *réis* would be destined for the construction of the Rosary Church" (Siricoco quoted in Brasileiro, 2019, p. 117). In 1940, the church of Nossa Senhora do Carmo [Our Lady of Carmo] was demolished and the women of the Confraternity of Perpetual Help migrated to the Cathedral of Santa Terezinha. However, the party in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary in October continued until the 1950s, when a third party arose next to the celebrations of the abolition of slavery, held in May in praise of St. Benedict. This festivity was performed by black congadeiros from the Martins neighborhood and surroundings, who did not participate in the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and created the Association of Saint Benedict (Brasileiro, 2019).

"There was a little church in honor of Saint Benedict, covered with straw, in a place far from the suburb area of Martins, now Rua Ângelo Testa, where today is the Osvaldo

Rezende neighborhood" (Cassimiro quoted in Brasileiro, 2012, p. 91). However, in the late 1960s, the party in praise of St. Benedict ceased to exist. As a result, the newly created Association was terminated and its *Ternos* joined the Our Lady of the Rosary Brotherhood. The image of Saint Benedict in the chapel of the neighborhood of Martins was taken in procession to São Vicente de Paulo Asylum. After restoration, it was taken to the Rosary Church to compose the altar next to Our Lady (Brasileiro, 2019).

The decade of the 1970s brought changes to Congado. It is at this time that the black female presence stands out when parading on the streets. Women had always been present, but it was from then on that they established themselves as active components in the functions once performed only by men. "From flag carriers to bearers of banners, they came to occupy the structure of a Congado group, being presidents, captains, saint mothers and spiritual protectors, and they also became percussionists of various instruments" (Brasileiro, 2019, p. 59). From then on, changes in rhythms and nomenclatures began to appear, and many groups adhered to a percussion characteristic of the "paradinhas" performed by the samba school's drums. These changes gain strength in the 1980s (Brasileiro, 2019). In 1985, Our Lady of the Rosary Church was listed as a Cultural and Material Heritage of the city of Uberlândia.

Since the 1990s, the neighborhood called Patrimônio, one of the places occupied by a considerable black population since the eighteenth century, has undergone constant urban interventions in a process of socioeconomic ascension, culminating in the expulsion of former residents.

> For almost five decades, it was located in the neighborhood of Patrimônio, and, due to different circumstances, such as real estate speculation, death of family members and other social pressures, it had to move to the Campo Alegre neighbourhood, residential place of its main leader. Moving in this sense means rebuilding new survival tactics, recreating new neighborhood ties, continuing, even in another distant neighbourhood, to maintain its cultural and religious tradition. (Brazilian, 2019, p. 204)

At the end of, the 1990s, the number of groups increases significantly and, with this phenomenon, there is a growing presence of young people, children and women in the *Ternos*. This expansion in the number of components makes some *Ternos* gain up to five hundred members. In 2001, the Mozambique Estrela Guia is created in the neighbourhood of São Jorge. The group comes up with a proposal to accept teenagers, adopting a form of dance incorporated in the Hip Hop culture, increasing the number of percussionists and creating new songs, new costumes and new movement. "During the celebratory rituals in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict in front of the Rosary Church, these young dancers received applauses from the public but bothered the traditionalist Mozambicans" (Brasileiro, 2012, p. 125).

Another peculiar detail of the *Terno* is the figure of the boy "Mameto", which appears in its banners. In the backyard of Moçambique Estrela Guia, the boy's figure is portrayed among the paintings of devotional saints, Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Benedict:

> The figure of the boy "Mameto", raised by several hands, has become an advertising piece of the group Moçambique Estrela Guia form (of) Uberlândia, a logo that transcends the days of the festival and is presented in posters, folders, banners, t-shirts, matchboxes and mini banners, distributed during the group's extemporaneous cultural presentations. Thus, the image of "Mameto", over the years, has also become a visual identity of the group. (Brazilian, 2012, p. 124)

In October of 2003, there was a change in the calendar of the celebration of the Congado, after almost nine decades. This change was defended by Father Olimar Rodrigues, head of Our Lady of the Rosary Church, in an attempt to unite the liturgy with popular manifestation. This linked the celebration with the devotion on a date celebrated in the Catholic calendar of St. Benedict and Our Lady of the Rosary, October 5 and 7 respectively. However, for many congadeiros, the change meant a loss of tradition, as their memories were forged with the festival of Congada in November (Brasileiro, 2012).

Five years later, Congado was registered as a Municipal Intangible Heritage by the city hall of Uberlândia. The Historical and Cultural Heritage was recorded in the Book of Celebrations by Decree No. 11,321 of August 29, 2008. Through Decree 17.903, of January 7, 2019, the Brotherhood of the Rosary received, together with the Conselho Municipal de Patrimônio Histórico, Arqueológico, Artístico e Cultural (COMPHAC) [Municipal Council of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Cultural Heritage], recognition of Rosario Square as a place of memory, resistance and permanence of the congadeira black community in the center of the city of Uberlândia.

Memory and identity

In his study of "Memory and Social Identity", Michael Pollak (1992) argues that, at first, memory appears to be an individual, intimate, and personal phenomenon. But the sociologist remembers Halbwachs and clarifies that memory must be understood above all as a collective or social phenomenon. The subject's memory exists due to a collective memory, and memories are constituted in group space. Thus, they can be reorganized according to the perception of other subjects and the representation of historical memory. Halbwachs (1968) treats collective memory as a process of reorganizing the past lived by a particular social group, allowing the understanding that remembering depends not only on what the individual remembers, but also on fragments of the memory of the group to which he belongs.

Pollak (1992) specifies three elements that constitute memory, individual or collective: first are the events which are experienced personally; secondly, are the events in which the person did not participate directly, but which were lived by the community to which he belongs; and third, the people, characters, and places linked to a memory that may be personal or "inherited" from the community. The memory of the residents of Uberlândia lies in this field where the subject's ways of being and the social world intersect. The institutions and the different actors and groups whose social conflicts are part

of their trajectories. This factor places, as a methodological requirement, that the articulation of the dilemmas of the present with the historical process, which will give support to the narrative, be produced in the contemporary analysis.

The author points out that dates set in the calendar of a municipality are determined from the political point of view. When one seeks to frame the memory of a region through officially selected dates for municipal festivities, an arena of political struggle is created. Official memory is an important object of dispute, and conflicts are common in determining which days and events will be recorded in the memory of a people (Pollak, 1992). Thus, in Uberlândia, two distinct festivities were defined in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary: the Confraternity in October and the Brotherhood on the second Sunday of November. Even after the migration of women from the Confraternity to the Cathedral of Santa Terezinha, they continued to hold the celebration in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary in October (Brasileiro, 2019).

This conflict recurs decades later, in 2003, when the Diocese and the Brotherhood returns the date of the Congado celebrations to October, causing dissatisfaction among the congadeiros. Pollak explains that "the concerns of the moment constitute a structuring element of memory" (Pollak, 1992, p. 4). Due to the personal and political concerns of the present, the organization shows that memory is a constructed phenomenon and is also the result of organizational work. It is important to note that this change comes at a time when Congado has attracted many fans and its *Ternos* have grown in number and components. This can be explained by the relation between the memory of slavery and the valorization of the Congado at the present time:

> there may be regional events that have traumatized and marked either a region or a group so much that their memories can be transmitted over the centuries with a high degree of identification. Very distant places, outside the space-time of one's life, may be important for the group's memory and, accordingly, for one's own, either indirectly or by belonging to that group. The memory of Africa can be part of the family's heritage with such force that it becomes practically a sense of belonging. (Pollak, 1992, p. 5)

Congado suffered a process of transformation, and became an inherited and reconstructed cultural heritage through which subjects reaffirm their identity, gain visibility, politically ratify their historical trajectories and reinforce a sense of belonging in the daily life of the city. Thus, new perspectives emerge in the group, keeping ancestral histories alive so that memories remain in the present (Brasileiro, 2019). The past is an area of conflict and it is often in competition with memory and history. In Uberlandia, memories have been built and rebuilt throughout the twentieth century, but they have always belonged to a collective memory that began in the post-abolitionist process which did not hear all of the voices during the historical course.

The memory of the congadeiros is marked by social construction. Faced with the modernization framework of society, these subjects had to cope with the issue of urbanization, which, in turn, brought transformative elements in the configuration of the

cultural process of the people of rural communities. They suffered social pressures and restrictions concerning land ownership, in addition to the legitimated racism in the delimitation of different places for whites and blacks (Lopes, 2007). This is about experiences and narratives of experiences that official history has failed to tell. The interpretations of the past to be safeguarded are integrated in attempts to define and reinforce feelings of belonging among collectivities: regions, parties, families, etc. The reference to the past serves to maintain the cohesion of the groups and institutions that make up society, to define their respective places, and also the irreducible oppositions (Pollak, 1989).

The separation of festivities in the last century offers evidence of the racial segregation that persisted in the daily life of the city. And this division was not restricted to places of prayer. For many decades, in addition to not praying together, whites and blacks did not frequent the same spaces in cinemas and clubs, besides having to walk on different sides of the street (Sousa, 2014). This racist dynamic is directly responsible for the way the history of Uberlândia was constructed by a group that sought to legitimize events through a type of work that Pollak calls the framing of memory, which can be done in political and trade union organizations, in the church and in everything that leads groups to solidify the social (Pollak, 1992).

Collective memories formed and defended by a framing work are important for the continuity of the social fabric and institutional structures of a society. This is not about a falsification of the past, but about its reorganization according to the need of that group to maintain its cohesion. "The analysis of the framing work of their agents and their material traits is a key to studying, from the top to bottom, how collective memories are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed" (Pollak, 1992, p. 10). A reality is established that legitimizes the history of specific groups, creating an organized collective memory which summarizes the image that a majoritarian society wishes to covey and to impose. Therefore, it is necessary to seek new possibilities from other voices, sources and documents, in order to understand the realities that did not make up the collective memories of Uberlândia.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, specifically in the 1970s, theories have attempted to account for new forms of social mobilization, leading the Social Sciences to turn to the study of these movements (Sousa, 2014). The subject was once again a concern of the researchers and it could be understood that subjectivities were imminent and that the analysis of the relationships between people and groups would be productive for the new goals of historians. "The sociology of the 1980s was dominated by themes related to new social subjects and new social movements (NSMs)" (Santos, 1999, p. 221). The political importance of these social movements grew significantly in Brazil during this period and gradually gained space in the struggles of policy formulation, obtaining expression and legitimacy in the field of social concerns.

It was during this period that oral history takes strength, along with the new historiographical conceptions. It was linked to a new line of Cultural Studies, taking into account new objects of study, methodologies and research sources. Pollak (1992) explains

that oral history, the collection of representations through oral discourse, which is also life history, has clearly become a privileged instrument to open new fields of research. History, as we research it, can be extremely rich as a producer of new themes, new objects, and new interpretations. Through History, it is possible to hear the memories told by subjects who belong to minority groups who did not take part in the process of construction of official memories of Uberlândia:

> by focusing on the analysis of excluded and marginalized people and of minority groups, oral history has stressed the importance of underground memories which, as an integral part of minority and dominated cultures, oppose official memory. Initially, this approach uses empathy with dominated groups as a methodological rule and rehabilitates the periphery and marginality. (Pollak, 1989, p. 2)

The concept of underground or marginal memory, as Pollak proposes, refers to the memory of members of the dominated groups who have not been heard and who oppose the "official memory" created to universally define the identity of the city. Working with the underground collective memories is to privilege the excluded, offering a new point of view of the history and of social facts of the past, whose reference "serves to maintain the cohesion of the groups and institutions that make up a society, to define their respective place, their complementarity, and also the irreducible oppositions" (Pollak, 1989, p. 9). Perception of changes and continuities in the practices of Congado is only possible through the analysis of reports, social experiences and memories of subjects because, despite being silenced by the official memory over the years, memory is recovered through oral discourse from one generation to another and remains alive.

Historical delimitation

Is it possible that the production of meaning in the present days of Congado, in the daily life of Uberlândia, can be ratified by the historical reconstruction of the past, the struggle for the identity of the black people, without risk of depoliticization of the subjects by the beauty of the folkloric representation or by being a tourist attraction? The issue treated here has a different perspective when one realizes that the narrative of the black people of the Congado is fundamental to present another meaning production in history. More than just being related to memory, this reading of the past enables present understanding of the identity of these men and women who experience their tensions and conflicts.

In order to materialize this analytical enterprise, three historical periods will be taken as references of temporality since they are considered important to understand, although in a limited way, the movement of popular culture in this communicative process. The first period refers to the beginning of Congado in 1874. Here an important question should be posed: what is the point of criticizing, in the present twenty-first century, a historical fact that occurred in the late nineteenth century? We could argue,

first, that it is a matter of being consistent with the methodological approach of cultural analysis. Because it is constitutive of dialectical method, history is founded as a substantive problem for cultural analysis, which rules out the possibility of treating history as periodization, as if it were only spaces occupied by dates.

In treating history as an analytical problem, we are led to consider that the history of Congado *Ternos* in Uberlandia is also related to the historical context in which the struggles of black people took place. And why not consider that the debate on slavery, in the country whose Lei Áurea [Slavery Abolition Law] was signed on May 13, 1888, can be examined using an analytical framework? In his work, Alfredo Bosi (1992) presents the context of the dialectic of colonization. In one of his passages on reform and abolition, the author shows the clashes that occurred in Brazil in the period from 1868 to 1888. Bosi mentions, as an element of analysis, Joaquim Nabuco's distinction of the five forces and agents that led from reform to abolition:

> 1) the abolitionists who campaigned in the Parliament, in the press, and in academia; 2) the activists of the cause, openly committed to assisting mass escapes and instructing manumission processes; 3) the owners of slaves, especially northeastern and gauchos, who began to release them in large numbers in the last years of the movement; 4) the public men (Nabuco generously calls them statesmen) most closely related to the government, who, from the Throne Speech in 1867, showed their intention to gradually resolve the servile issue; 5) the personal action of the emperor and the ruling princess. (Bosi, 1992, pp. 244-245)

Admittedly, the text emphasizes the dialectic of colonization, but the outcome of Nabuco's letter, after the closure of the problematization of the republic in Brazil on the issue of blacks, from the narrative of republican liberalism, is symptomatic:

> Nabuco writes to Rebouças, who would exile himself to Africa on the very day of the proclamation of the Republic: What sort of people are we dealing with! Today I am convinced that there was not a single portion of slave love, disinterest and self-denial in three-quarters of those who claimed to be abolitionists. It was one more speculation! The proof is that they created this Republic and, after that, they only advocated the cause of the stock traders, the thieves of finance, infinitely worsening the condition of the poor. It is true that the blacks are dying and degrading themselves from alcoholism even more now than when they were slaves, because they are free today, that is, responsible, and they were pure machines before, whose fate God had put into other hands (if God consented to slavery); but where would the propagandists of the new crusade be? This time none would even be believed (...) We were involved with financiers, not puritans, with streams of bankrupt bankers, moneylender mercenaries, etc.; we had everything but sincerity and love for the oppressed. The transformation of abolitionism into stock market republicanism is as shameful, at least, as that of slavery. (Bosi, 1992, pp. 244-245)

The narrative described above enables us to understand the main dilemma concerning the dialectic of colonization: what happened after the golden law was that the enslaved blacks were left to their own fate. As Bosi describes the dilemmas presented by Lima Barreto and Cruz e Souza about the blacks, the question is: how did this abolitionist and republican process lead, in that period, to another existential dilemma for modernity? The critical construction of Lima Barreto's gaze is expressed by Bosi in the face of this dialectical dilemma:

> after that May 13th, what could be the expectation of blacks, aggregate mulattos, sub proletarians or marginals? The myth of the redemption of an entire people was no longer historically considered valid. Hopes of collective redemption are only conceived when one lives, or is believed to live, a time full of promises: it is the messianic expectation of a day of judgement that will come to liberate and to save. But after this D-Day, the present imposes itself with the burden of its contradictions. Lima Barreto faced this present, which was our Old Republic, as an observer who admits defeat, but who is not submissive to the social machine. (Bosi, 1992, pp. 266-267).

He knew he had been defeated, but was not subservient to social machine. This conflict presents the struggle over the reality of black people in Brazil. And, as we have previously explained, this struggle can be extended as a contextualization of the situation experienced by blacks in Uberlândia during this period with the beginning of Congado in 1874. There is an important demarcation considered by Bosi that addresses the crisis of modernity. That is when blacks recognize that D-Day acquires an additional meaning in their daily lives. They had to face a lack of economic opportunities and social action as well as the slave mentality that, in the post-abolition period, was defined and put into practice in micro social relations. The confrontation was no longer against the slaver state but within social relations.

It is with this problematic content in mind that we must develop the analysis of the history of the black movement in its production of meaning concerning Congado in Uberlândia. That period is constituted as a moment of tension and hope, and represents a present whose results lead to the realization that the post-abolition period must be confronted for blacks to be treated as subjects. The first meaning of the struggle, which took place years later, revealed that the steps toward abolition initiated from the dialectic of the colonized as subjects. Farm rebellions, mass escapes, the formation of black sociability in quilombos, the life and death of leader Zumbi dos Palmares, all contributed to the production of the narrative that blacks acted as subjects in the constitution of Brazilian history.

On the one hand, we can consider Lima Barreto's accusation of what happened in this New Republic: "in the end, what happened on November 15th was the fall of the Liberal Party and the rise of the conservative, especially its most reactionary faction" (Bosi, 1992, p. 267). On the other hand, there is a narrative of the black as a questioning being in the slavery process in Brazil, whose action defined him as subject. Given this scenario,

how can we understand the beginning of the Congado movement in Uberlândia, even before the constitution of the city itself as a municipality? What was the collective conception of being black during this period until the revelation of D-Day and its result in meaning changes? Or more specifically, what were the tactics and strategies used in the face of this new context presented to the group?

It seems that this way of acting, with awareness of the existence of the new concept, has meaning beyond its denial, can be understood as the first aspect of the black movement, like the Brazilian Black Front, in 1931. But it is in the context of international order, especially with the widespread conflict in the United States, that new fronts of struggle against racism and inequalities flourish in Brazil, so that public policies related to black rights could be demanded. This period is being considered as the second historical delimitation problem for the analysis of this new resignification of the *Terno* of Congado in Uberlândia. Among the movements, we can mention the Unified Black Movement. It is undeniable that the 1970s and 1980s constitute, in historiography, a crisis of modernity that has been accentuated since the "disenchantment" of the presumed equality discourse of D-Day.

It is at this moment that questions about being black (*black is beautiful*) began in Brazilian society in order to denounce racism. It was a period in which we can analyze the struggle of other social movements, such as the women's movement and the discussion of old age, to establish a counterpoint concerning the daily life of *Terno* of Congado of Uberlândia. The proposal, in that period, was to create, for Brazilian society, a sense of identity for these groups and, at the same time, reveal the obscurity in which the narrative of the past took place in the country. And this is how the *Terno* of Congado began to have new interpretations concerning the subjects that compose it, both regarding the struggle of the black men and women and the elderly. Here is a paradox: the production of meaning must question, in its constitution of identity, the values that lead to prejudice.

This historical continuum of the black movement took on new dimensions in the 21st century. The Zumbi March, in 1995, brought together 30,000 people in Brasilia to demand the inclusion and the implementation of public policies related to blacks. Additionally, the recognition of the *Ternos* became a new issue. From an internal point of view, there was the acknowledgment of the resignification of *Ternos* such as the "Estrela da Guia". On the other hand, the struggle for the supposed acceptance, as a movement in Uberlandia was diluted by the acceptance of a festivity to be held on a certain day, consolidating a folk tradition. The struggle was to understand Congado culture as political. This third period of historical delimitation, of the 21st century, although it seems similar to the 60s, consolidated a new understanding of the debate which sustains the critique of positivism. As a result, the fear that Congado would be valued as a phenomenon in itself, without considering the subjects that produce meaning in daily life of Uberlândia, was consolidated. In this logic of denial, the congadeiros faced a new way of confronting prejudice.

Final considerations

Does popular culture exist in spite of acts that suppress it? This is the epistemological problem posed by Certeau (1995) in the text "The beauty of the dead". The author's critique is based on physical violence, followed by symbolic violence, with which popular culture is plagued in society. The narrative that is concretized in the popular, preponderant for the denunciation, is presented more for its denial than for affirmative movement. It is thus evident that the popular becomes beautiful the moment its force in political change, through its subjects, is disrupted by the violence of the opposition.

The analysis of the history of the *Ternos* of Congado in Uberlândia raises this problem as a concern as to whether the narrative of the violence suffered by blacks, in Uberlândia, received more emphasis than the movement that contributed to the constitution of their identity. The collective memory of the subject of popular culture pervades the physical and symbolic violence. However, it would be erroneous to consider, from this theoretical conception, that the black subject of the *Ternos* of Congado is restricted to the other who denies him. It is in plunging into the depth of lived experience of the self, through memory, that historical reconstruction takes on new meaning in relation to official historiography. And so, we reach the memory in conflict, which, in reality, is effective for the production of meaning of subjects in the hegemonic dispute of Brazilian reality.

From the physical violence of the period in which slavery was established, and the symbolic violence of the present, in which the valorization of the festivities decrees the emptying of the subject, criticism must now be sought in the dialectic of the black movement, or in the dialectic of identity building of Congado. The old people to be interviewed are demarcated in this context of struggle, both by being black and by being old, in the face of a capitalist economic determination. The new generations that turn to other references of the black movement, such as Hip Hop, to produce meaning in the daily life of the *Terno* of Congado, reveal the layers with which tactics and strategies are taking shape for the social meaning of the movement itself.

The analytical theoretical challenge, faced with the dilemma of the presented historicity of Congado in Uberlândia, is to unveil the memory of the other, the marginalized, from this other place of speech. This alters the understanding of social reality. It is not a matter of refusing the violence suffered by the other as a problem of analysis. The point here is to consider that the self, recognized in this process, produces new meanings of history. The narrative of these experiences and the places of memory are essential elements for underground memory to allow the unsaid to assume a new configuration of being, in relation to the narrator. The existence of the black subject becomes the central point for discursive practices. The rewriting of the past through the memory of the present is the movement of the subject in the historical constitution of oneself and the group to which he belongs. Thus, it becomes possible to reconfigure, in this new reading, the determination of the power relations from which these black men and women conduct themselves and/or are led to face in the tension of daily life.

Translation: David Francis and Alice Cunha de Freitas

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Terno de Reis: between tradition and an update on identity in the Quilombola community of Nova Esperança

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze how Three Kings day, a cultural expression present in several Brazilian communities, in this case the Quilombola Community of Nova Esperança, municipality of Wenceslau Guimarães, Bahia, keeps tradition regardless of the various cultural influences from contemporary shifting identities. According to the narratives of participants in Terno de Reis, the celebration is an important element in the reaffirmation of local identity and, above all, of the bonds of common ancestry with the founder of the community. When discussing the dynamics that involve the whole celebration of Three Kings day, it becomes pertinent to weigh culture as something dynamic, alive in time and space, capable of (re)acquiring new meanings and re-igniting the memory of the people who have a continuous relationship with both the past and the present. The narratives also show concern for the survival of this celebration in the face of the eminent threats that it suffers as a result of the liquidity of contemporary social relationships.

Keywords

Terno de Reis; culture; identity; Nova Esperança

Terno de Reis: entre a tradição e a atualização da identidade na comunidade quilombola Nova Esperança

Resumo

O presente artigo busca analisar como a festa de Reis, uma expressão cultural presente em diversas comunidades brasileiras, neste caso, na Comunidade Quilombola Nova Esperança, município de Wenceslau Guimarães, Bahia, mantém a tradição perante as diversas influências culturais oriundas das identidades móveis contemporâneas. A partir de narrativas dos participantes do Terno de Reis, o folguedo é importante elemento na reafirmação da identidade local e, sobretudo, dos laços de ancestralidade comum com o fundador da comunidade. Ao discutir a dinâmica que envolve todo o festejo da festa de Reis, torna-se pertinente pesarmos a cultura como algo dinâmico, vivo no tempo e no espaço, se (re)significando e avivando a memória do povo que possui relação contínua entre passado e presente. As narrativas apresentam ainda a preocupação com a permanência da festa diante das eminentes ameaças que o folguedo sofre face à liquidez das relações sociais contemporâneas.

Palavras-chave

Terno de Reis; cultura; identidade; Nova Esperança

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Introduction

In the present work we are committed to discuss the festivities of Terno de Reis in the Quilombola Community of Nova Esperança, located in the rural area of the municipality of Wenceslau Guimarães, state of Bahia, Brazil, based on the elements that characterize it as a local traditional and cultural activity and the way it coexists with the elements of modernity that affect them.

Realizing that the celebrations in this community present original elements, even if others have been introduced over the years, we seek to analyze how the individuals who compose it relate to the elements of modernity continuously inserted due to the influence of other individuals that move between the community and other spaces, especially the big city, in an obvious relationship between tradition and modernity.

In this paper we present a brief history of the origin of Terno de Reis, and we conclude that it appeared in Portugal around the fourteenth century having absorbed European theatrical elements along the way. It arrived in Brazil shortly after the colonization process in the northeast region of the country.

In order to contextualize the celebration under analysis, we decided to present a brief history of the Quilombola Community of Nova Esperança, as well as a short explanation of the concept of quilombo, both anthropological and from a contemporary legal perspective.

The methodology used was oral history because it was the closest to ethnography, since alongside the interviews events of the festivity were observed and recorded. It is important to highlight that using oral sources allows historically invisible subjects to speak for themselves, as witnesses to the facts, and thus record their memories.

This paper is relevant because it presents and values the existence and (re)existence of traditional communities in Brazil based on memorable cultural elements, in this case, *Terno de Reis*. This happens especially in times of uncertainty for peoples who historically have succumbed to the *statu quo* of those who already somehow have their history officially recorded.

Methodology

This is an interpretive work, whose methodology is oral history, namely interviews conducted with members of the Quilombola community of Nova Esperança that are part of the group of Terno de Reis, in order to grasp their understanding of the importance of maintaining the collective as an affirmation of the quilombo's identity. According to Alberti (2005),

> Oral History is a methodology of research and constitution of sources for the study of contemporary history that emerged in the mid-twentieth century, after the invention of the tape recorder. It consists of conducting recorded interviews with individuals who participated in, or witnessed events and conjunctures of the past and present. (Alberti, 2005, p. 155)

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In this sense, oral history, as a methodological approach, seeks to perpetuate the experiences of individuals who, by sharing perceptions of themselves, also speak of their surroundings, even if unintentionally.

We emphasize that oral history research seeks to find truths and not an absolute, holistic truth. Therefore, by listening to common people one is able to articulate the narratives of a story in which they present themselves and represent other individuals with whom, at some point, they had contact, building and rebuilding collective memory.

The interviews were conducted with four members of Terno de Reis during the festivities in January 2016. To ensure the anonymity of the subjects, they were named "collaborators". Each collaborator was able to speak freely about their perception of the festivities for 30 minutes to one hour. During the recordings, the researchers did not intervene with questions or directions. Thus it was possible to record not only the statements, but gestures and pauses. For Alberti

> prior knowledge of the object of study is a requirement for the formulation of any research project. In the case of oral history, it depends on the first choices that should be made in the following research: which people to interview, what kind of interview to adopt and how many people to listen to. (Alberti, 2005, p. 32)

In short, the methodology and techniques used in the research contributed to the recovery of lived memory and the perception of the effects of contemporaneity in the festivities from the perspective of the individuals who experience the cultural activities in the Quilombola community of Nova Esperança.

Three Kings day in Quilombo: identity as resistance

Three Kings day, celebrated on January 6th, the day baby Jesus manifested himself to the gentiles and when the coming of the Messiah was revealed, is a symbol of dawn. Terno de Reis, brought by Portuguese settlers, is part of the cultural heritage of the Brazilian people. It is a folk festival kept alive among the traditional communities of deep Brazil, which do not appear in the official writings of history, through tradition and memories. It is important to consider that slavery in Brazil marked history in a negative way, particularly black people who endured the harsh penalties imposed by servitude. To overcome suffering they reached out to communities, such as quilombos, where they resisted all kinds of oppression.

In this context, the quilombo became a place of identity empowerment, reviving political struggles through a process of resistance, ensuring the fundamental right to "exist" of those human beings who were (de)humanized, by a desire of racial superiority.

Quilombos in Brazil are the result of the history of slavery of black people in the country. For Munanga and Gomes (2006, p. 71), the history of slavery is marked by various acts of struggle and courage, and the quilombos are one of those marks of black

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resistance. Thus, the quilombos emerged as "opposition strategies to a slave structure by the implementation of a way of life, of another political structure in which all kinds of oppressed people were found". Having emerged in the colonial period, the quilombo has changed according to the context and relations established over the years. Therefore, it is not only a place for escaped slaves, as recognized for more than a century after the enactment of the Lei Áurea of 1888, which formalized the end of slave labour in Brazil, but also any resistance group against the slave regime. The quilombo symbolizes the expression of class struggle in the slave period against the oppressive system: "both in its economic sense and in its social significance the escaped slave was an element of denial of the established order" (Moura, 1981, p. 269).

Clovis Moura (1981) sees quilombo as a place of resistance from the perspective of the political organization of men fleeing the situation of oppression. For this researcher, a quilombo was any form of grouping opposed to slavery.

> The quilombo was undoubtedly the basic unit of resistance of the slave. Small or large, stable or precarious, in any region in which slavery existed, there it was as a wear factor of the servile regime. (...) Wherever slavery came up, there was a quilombo. It wasn't just a topical manifestation. It is often surprising for its organizational capacity, for the resistance it offers; partially destroyed dozens of times to rise again, elsewhere, ... The quilombo was therefore not just a sporadic phenomenon. It constituted a normal fact within slave society. It was an organized reaction against a form of work the subject himself supported. (Moura, 1981, p.87)

The quilombola issue is complex since each quilombo has distinct stories, apart from being a stronghold for escaped slaves. Some are the result of land purchases by freed slaves, others from land inherited from bankrupt former lords.

Despite the various origins, there is a convergence regarding slavery - so there are distinct definitions around the issue as "black lands"[1], "remaining quilombolas", "quilombola community"[2] and "black, rural, and or urban communities"[3]. According to Arruti (2008), quilombos are not isolated, not all originate in rebellion, or are defined by demographic density. In this sense, quilombos are "groups that developed resistance practices in the maintenance and reproduction of their characteristic ways of life in a given place" (Arruti, 2008, p. 2).

Quilombos have acquired new meanings over time, thus, the term has also been modified in order to meet current demands. The Federal Constitution of 1988, Art. 68, in the Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias [Transitional Constitutional

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[1] The term is the most used by scholars because they consider it to be a native expression, not a historically imported denomination, among which Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida (2006), Renato Queiroz (1983/2006) and Neusa Maria Mendes de Gusmão stand out (1979, 1995).

[2] Concept by Almeida (2002).

[3] The term is mentioned in Article 68 of the ADCT (Act of transitional constitutional provisions of the Federal Constitution of 1988)

Provisions Act], considered that the entire area occupied by remnants of the former Quilombos became quilombo.

Almeida stresses that "the new meaning expresses the passage of quilombo, as a historical category and formal legal discourse, to a conceptual plan based on the system of representations concerning social situations categorized as such today" (Almeida, 2011, p. 47). That is, the term quilombo carries deep inside much more than a purely historical definition and represents a broad concept that permeates the subjectivities of each group on the agendas for the search of rights, either of territory, or identity.

Thus, the quilombo concept was extended to meet as many Afro-descendants as possible, and not necessarily to signify a place for those breaking free from slavery, but rather other groups of people who somehow have ties to this period and sought to consolidate themselves in a territory with their own cultural identities and representations. The recognition of communities of remaining quilombolas emerges as a reparation for the historical damage caused to enslaved peoples who still fight for their identity recognition and claim their citizenship. In this context, the Remaining Quilombola community of Nova Esperança in Wenceslau Guimarães, a city in the Lower South state of Bahia, in the Northeast region of Brazil, presents itself as a symbol of resistance of culture and orality of a people that preserves wisdom, experience and love for religiosity in its lips. *Terno de Reis* in Nova Esperança emerges concomitantly with the arrival of the pathfinder of the place, Mr. Faustino dos Santos who, according to the story told orally by the oldest residents, came from far away, Canudos, bringing with him wife, children and the divine patron of blacks, Nossa Senhora do Rosário.

Mr. Faustino dos Santos, though very religious, liked to party. Thus, *Terno de Reis* became an extension of religious rites in order to entertain the revelers (*foliões*) until the dawn of day.

Terno de Reis: from Portugal to Brazil

The *Folia de Reis* or *Terno de Reis* is a festivity of "popular Catholicism" that reproduces the history of the Three Wise Men and their journey to Jesus birthplace. The celebrations take place in various locations in Brazil, specifically from December 24th to January 6th.

During these days the revelers visit people's houses, perform songs, play instruments, pray, dance, including the samba. The *Folia [revelry]* exerts an important influence in various places in the interior of Brazil. In most places, January 6th represents the end of the religious ritual with much celebration, the day of *Santos Reis* [Holy Kings].

Terno de Reis originated in Portugal in the 14th century, but was reconfigured and disseminated throughout Europe from the 16th century on. It absorbed elements of Portuguese theater, bohemians and medieval students. Based on its colorful character and use of varied musical instruments, it is believed that contact with gypsies also helped promote the celebration as we know it today.

> The origins of Folia were attributed to medieval customs: masters, students, bohemians, begging and having fun traveled for three centuries, from the 12th to the 14th, the whole of Europe. In another version, Gypsies are pointed out as possible roots of this cultural practice, not only on account of their nomadism, but also the instruments, banners, ribbons and colorful flowers that characterize them. France, England, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal, among others, celebrated the Three Wise Men on Christmas time. The Nativity scene and the Christmas Autos were already known since the 14th century in Portugal, but the first news of Folia, as we know it today, dates back to the 16th century. (Machado, quoted in Gonçalves, 2008, p. 6)

When it comes to these festivities scattered and reinvented in so many places in Brazil, historiographic studies point out that *Terno de Reis* has a traditionally Catholic cultural marker and arrived in Brazil in the same period as Portuguese colonization. In his studies, Pergo affirms:

> the tradition of "Folia de Reis" would have arrived in Brazil through the Portuguese in the period of colonization, since this cultural manifestation was carried out throughout the Iberian Peninsula, and it was common to donate and receive gifts from performing songs and dances in the residences. In this line of argumentation, Folia de Reis would have appeared in Brazil in the sixteenth century, around the year 1534, through the Jesuits, as divine belief to catechize Brazilian Indians and later black slaves. (Pergo, s.d., p. 1)

According to the National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage:

> Folia de Reis, considered one of the most beautiful popular manifestations in Brazil, is a celebration of Portuguese origin. It arrived in the country around the 18th century, inspired by the Catholic tradition of the visit of the Three Wise Men to baby Jesus. In traditional Brazilian culture, Christmas festivities were celebrated by groups that visited the houses, playing joyful songs in praise of the *Santos Reis* [Holy Kings] and the birth of Jesus. This tradition gained visibility, especially in the 19th century, and remains alive and active in most of the country. (IPHAN)[4]

For Gonçalves (2008), *Folia de Reis* has been present in Brazil since the early days of its colonization. The first evidence is the date of the foundation of the "Forte dos Reis Magos" in Natal (RN): "a proof of this presence is the fact that the Forte in Natal (RN), was founded on January 6th, 1598, marking the introduction of the cult of the *Santos Reis* [Holy Kings] in the sixteenth century" (Gonçalves, 2008, p. 6).

Another evidence is that Jesuits used symbols to catechize the indigenous people.

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[4] IPHAN - Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional [National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage]. Retrieved from http://portal.iphan.gov.br/pagina/detalhes/989.

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> *Folia* [Revelry], such as music and drama, was used by the Jesuits for catechesis. Fathers Manoel da Nóbrega and José de Anchieta used it and other dances in processions and *autos*, many of which written in common language. With the consolidation of colonization, the rituals used to catechize Brazilian Indians spread among Portuguese settlers, black slaves and half-breeds of all sorts, and were incorporated into the patron saints celebrations. (Rios, 2006, p.3)

Over the centuries, *Folia de Reis* in Brazil has reconfigured itself, incorporated new elements, and currently each manifestation of this event has characteristics of each locality. *Folia de Reis* in the community, is fraught with characteristic elements of local culture in an intimate relationship between the sacred and the profane, gathering manifestations of its multicultural universe.

In Brazil, Three Kings day celebrations include visits to the houses by the "*reiseiros*" [revelers] who play percussion instruments and songs of popular repertoire, and who are known as singers of Reis. Lyrics are of easy assimilation, like this one sung during celebrations in Nova Esperança. It is about revelers asking the owner of the house permission to enter:

> To anyone inside, to anyone outside
> Maria, go see who it is
> They're the kings' singer(s)
> Who sent them was St. Joseph (encore).

Like this song, others will emerge during the *folia*/revelry, which, repeated infinite times, form a choir to the sound of tambourines and clapping. Over the years, in addition to traditional songs, others were created by the revelers themselves, whose lyrics serve the cultural experiences of the community, such as this one that refers to cocoa growing.

> Cocoa is a good crop, I'll harvest it
> In the summer peak, I shall sell it
> Cocoa is a good crop!
> Cocoa is a good crop, the farmer says so
> Cocoa is a crop!
> Cocoa of 150 (one hundred and fifty)
> A lot of men have grown rich!
> Cocoa is a good /crop
> The farmer says so!
> Whoever sells cocoa has money and value.

During the course of the celebration the revelers go from house to house until the owner starts the "farewell samba" signaling that it is time to go and visit other houses. The sign is given by singing:

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> Our Terno says goodbye
> The Holy Kings are leaving
> God be with you
> We shall follow with Our Lady

The songs address various themes, many of which are religious, particularly catholic, transmitted orally. Some of them were most likely brought by the founders of the community. Others already have local themes, such as work songs on cocoa culture.

They also sing about relationships between men and women like the following:

> Woman, woman!
> I'm going to samba, I'm going now!
> If the samba there is good
> I'm going to go and pick you up!

Each place adds characteristics and marked cultural elements to Three Kings celebrations and, in the case of Brazil, it is the junction of Catholicism and the rites of religions of African matrices. In the remaining quilombola communities it has been affirming itself as an intangible asset to affirmative policies of local identities.

When *Terno de Reis* got to Brazil, it gained strength, and is currently a tradition in various places of the country, especially in small towns and its hinterlands, as in the case of the place presented here.

Terno de Reis in Nova Esperança

Nova Esperança is a remaining *quilombola* community, located in the rural area of the municipality of Wenceslau Guimarães, Lower South of Bahia. The community originates in 1929, with the arrival of founder Faustino dos Santos, his companion Antônia Maria de Jesus and their eight children. There they set up house, faced and overcame adversity in the search for better living conditions. As part of this endeavor they brought with them cultural and religious inheritances acquired in the relations built in their past lives.

The community keeps rituals linked to the founding ancestors until the present day, among which *Terno de Reis*. Originating in popular Catholicism, the celebrations of Kings in Nova Esperança add diverse cultural elements, in a relationship between the sacred and the profane. It has an important influence on the resignification of the community as a space of resistance of *quilombolas*.

In Nova Esperança, *Terno de Reis* takes place from December 24th to January 6th, with all the rites directed to baby Jesus' birth, recalling the visit of the Three Wise Men. During these days, services are held in the local church and houses are visited, the highlight being on January 6th, when participants make presentations in the church and later visit the residents. On the last day, residents engage in a theatrical performance, singing religious chants and reading biblical readings.

The *Terno* group consists of 12 singers, four characters representing the religious component, the Three Wise Men and baby Jesus, and a flag bearer. In addition to these typified characters, the participation of the community is mixed up with the celebration, since everyone gets involved, organizing and participating in the festivities.

For the presentation, people use very colorful garments, with ribbons and flags, and food that each resident takes and shares during the event. After this, they sing the first *cantos* with the help of musical instruments such as triangles, accordions, tambourines, fifes and many handclaps. With great joy and round songs, the singers play instruments and dance the samba. In the end, the resident reciprocates the visit with plenty of food and beverages.

After visiting all the houses, the singers (*reiseiros*) finally get to the central square opposite the church, and continue the celebrations with lots of food, drinks, samba and singing, in a festive atmosphere until the dawn of day.

A large table is set underneath the almond tree so that all the people who are present can fraternize. Food is spontaneously cooked by the residents. Each family offers whatever they can and want to. The table consists of sweet dishes such as: canjica, cocadas, cakes baked in banana leaves, corn cakes, mungunzá; at the break of dawn the community *feijoada* (stew of beans), made by women in the neighborhood association, is served.

The celebration is a mix of sacred and profane. As far as the sacred is concerned, the local church celebrates the visit of the Three Wise Men to baby Jesus. The profane happens soon after the religious activity when the members of the group go out to pay visits with their garments and handmade instruments, such as drums, tambourines and accordions. They are then followed by everyone to the houses with nativity scenes, where they ask to enter. After the celebrations, *sambadores* (samba dancers) and *foliões* (revelers) leave while starting the "farewell samba", and head to the next house.

Three Kings day is closely linked to a sense of belonging of the individuals who live the community. As we were told by one of the interviewees: "for us, *terno* symbolizes the life of our community. Going from house to house we have fun, we dance samba, drink a little wine. There's always some food. I'll tell you, for us it's pure joy" (Collaborator 3, 70 years old, interviewed in 2015).

There is a historic construct around the memory of the older residents of the community. For them, the celebration blends in with the affective history of the place, since it served as a reference for its recognition as remaining quilombolas.

This perception, both historical and affective, reveals some insecurity about the future of the celebration, because, according to the following report, young people have shown no interest in participating because they do not perceive themselves as part of it.

> For us, Terno de Reis is a presentation of the religion inherited from our grandparents. Every year after the celebration ... mass, always ended with Terno de Reis. Today "young people" do not want to participate. They say

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> it's old people stuff. I like it a lot. I like to party. I've always enjoyed dancing. I'm this old and I'm here every year. Today it is something important for the place. After it became quilombola. (Collaborator 1, 86 years old, interviewed in 2015)

Older people perceive youth's lack of enthusiasm for following up the culture inherited from their ancestors. This concern is justified, since there are few young people who show interest in playing the instruments or "starting" a samba; another possible factor is migration to large cities in search for better working conditions and education.

The garments idealize a vision of the sacred with the flag that represents the Trinity. More recently, another banner was included in the set, the flag of "Quilombo", which corresponds to what Wagner (2011) calls an inventive culture when arguing:

> (Culture) ... operates through our forms, creates on our terms, borrows our words and concepts for their meanings, and recreates us through our efforts. If our culture is creative, then the "cultures" we study, as examples of this phenomenon of others, must be as well. (Wagner, 2011, p. 16)

Garments are associated with meanings, namely representations about colors, either in the field of the sacred or of local culture. Garments and food contribute to the affirmation of quilombola identity in coping with the symbolic and political threats that traditional communities have been suffering in the current Brazilian political context.

In the view of the following interviewee, the official recognition of the community as a place of quilombo favored a new look over *Terno de Reis*.

> Look, I think that, after this place became known as a quilombola community, Terno de Reis gained new life. It's part of our culture, right? It has already been included as a school activity. During Black Awareness Week there is a children presentation. I think that's important. (Collaborator 2, 68 years old, interview in 2015)

As soon as the community feels appreciated through the activities taking place at the local school, it also feels as an immaterial part of *Terno de Reis*.

Uncertainty regarding the future of *Terno de Reis* in Nova Esperança comes from the fact that modernity promotes the pursuit of residents' personal wishes, namely new life opportunities offered by the foreign market, with the festivities being reserved for restricted presentations for temporary visitors.

> I like the festivities. We come here every year. I'll do anything not to miss it. It looks like we need to come here. It's a pity I can only come on the day of the celebration. We have to work and there are no job opportunities here, but we always find a way to be here every year. The people, right, our family, are resilient. They don't get discouraged. Every year they're here. I also think

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sometimes you need to renew the celebration, or else people won't come.
(Collaborator 4, 27 years old, interview in 2015)

According to Stuart Hall (2006), "identity crises" result from the wide changes that occur in contemporary social structures, with consequent reconfigurations of cultural identity.

> The more social life becomes mediated by the global market of styles, plac-
> es and images, international travel, media images and globally intercon-
> nected communication systems, the more identities become disconnected
> – dislodged – from specific times, places, stories and traditions and seem
> to "float freely". (Hall, 2006, p. 43)

Identity is not inherent to birth, but built throughout our existence from the relationships constructed, individualized by the narratives of the self, and continually re-elaborated in contemporaneity.

For Hall (2011), "identity results precisely from differences and not similarities", so identity becomes a "constant celebration" (Hall 2006, p. 13), formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways in which we are represented or want to represent us, the other and the place from cultural models that surround us.

Identity is therefore an endless process of interactions between people that results in borders and proximity in a cultural territory, that is, we build identities in interaction with the other – in contact with the family, the community, culture, in different spaces – hence we acquire information that results in subjectivities. According to Roy Wagner (2011) man "is a mediator of things, a builder, and able to 'transform' into the things in his surroundings, to integrate them into his knowledge, action and being" (Wagner, 2011, p. 211).

This is due to the changes that occurred in postmodern social structures in which the identity of the individuals is also modified by the contact with other identities, resulting in hybrid cultures. For Canclini (1997), hybridization results from the mix of cultures, between popular and elite, and between traditional and modern.

> Sociocultural hybridization is not a simple mix of discrete, pure social struc-
> tures or practices that existed in a separate form, and by combining, gener-
> ated new structures and new practices. Sometimes this occurs in an un-
> planned way, or is the unforeseen result of migratory, tourist or economic
> or communication processes. But hybridization often arises from the in-
> tention of reconverting a heritage (a factory, professional training, a set of
> knowledge and techniques) to reinsert it into new production and market
> conditions. (Canclini, 1997, p. 113)

Understanding tradition as the past persisting in the present and accepted by those who receive it, will allow it to be transmitted from generation to generation, and therefore

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it is not possible to conceive it out of place, because it is closely linked to a historically and geographically identified social group. However, this tradition is not impervious, on the contrary, over time individuals absorb other habits. Cultures are in a constant process of mobility and action.

The subjects who integrate *Terno de Reis* in Nova Esperança move continuously as they are constantly going back-and-forth between the community and other spaces outside of it. For Dubar (1997), identities are constructed from other experiences and are therefore injected into local culture opening possibilities for other elements", because "identity is never given, it is always built" (Dubar, 1997, p. 104).

In this flow of individuals who have different experiences, Nova Esperança community goes through cultural and ethnic continuity and discontinuity of *Terno de Reis* simultaneously, because it is increasingly being fed by other elements that also feed off each other.

Identity happens within the mesh of cultural relationships imposed by the displacement of the individuals in search for other chances of survival. This results in the plurality of cultural and ethnic movements that intertwine by reifying culture into a continuous mesh between the present and the past, where there needs to be empathy between new and old. In this come and go, *Terno de Reis* resignifies itself to stay in motion. Among the various elements involving this resignification it is the day of the celebration, which was always January 6th. Currently, in order to include young people who work outside the community and who can only come over the weekend, it is being held on the first Saturday that follows the official date.

Terno de Reis has also undergone some changes regarding its musicality. In addition to traditional instruments, the microphone was also introduced. The object has, in a way, modified the behavior towards the celebration, because it often inhibits some participants, which interferes with its inherent spontaneity.

What previously ended with a house to house samba, has now been replaced by an outdoor activity entitled to a band playing musical genres more in line with young people's taste, such as Arrocha, romantic Brega and Axé.

This openness to what is new aims to engage younger people in the event and thus ensure their continuity since many of them left for cities in search of better living conditions, and then returned, realizing that this territory is the basis for their identity.

Inconclusive considerations

Terno de Reis in Nova Esperança contributes to the process of identity construction and to the cultural reproduction of the community. Members express satisfaction for being part of the group and are aware of the importance of the event in affirming the history of the place and, at the same time, show concern about young people's low participation. This cultural manifestation is formally recognized as an intangible cultural heritage of

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the community, by emphasizing its importance in the self-affirmation of members of the Quilombola community.

Despite being a cultural representation of religious nature it does not prevent the relationship with profane elements. In fact, it makes the event popular and highly participated. As they say in the community, "as prayer ends, a review starts". Thus, anything positive is added as valuable and this makes the celebration cheerful and frequented.

According to what was mentioned above, culture is understood as the experiences acquired by individuals as they walk the world. It enables multiplicities of knowledge through a change in local culture and the creation of other identity elements, because culture is ever changing. For Frederick Barth (2000), culture is "made of scraps and patches", and understood as part of cultural traditions and individual experiences.

Contemporary society is affected by the movement of individuals, often resulting in identity and generational conflicts. In this sense, cultural policies should pinpoint solutions to tensions and, with this, provide new paradigms for traditional cultures, where these groups might see opportunities to revitalize traditions and build up resistance to processes of homogenization and cultural hegemony.

Thus, *Terno de Reis* in Nova Esperança should be used as a path to strengthen local identity, and new identifications seen not as an attack on traditions, but as redefining elements of their culture.

In the end, we emphasize the fact that this paper never intended to account for discussions about the various phenomena involving the festivities of Nova Esperança. We seek to point out the permanence and change of cultural elements that involve *Terno de Reis* given the continuous movement of individuals who participate in it, in the perspective of mentioning possibilities of resignification of the celebration in the face of the identity movements that contemporaneity imposes. Culture is created by understanding the way people create the reality they live in, and how reality itself can create people who make themselves exist through it; that is to say, "in a sense, invention is absolutely not an inventive process, but an obviation one" (Wagner, 2011, p. 240).

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Biographical note

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Venezuelan migration in *Jornal Nacional*

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Abstract

This article analyzes the discourse of *Jornal Nacional* (Globo Channel) about Venezuelans displaced to Brazil as a result of the economic, political and social crisis in Venezuela, in order to explore their narrative senses. We decided to use, as a temporal cut-off, 17 editions of 2018, with an analytical emphasis on those that showed the presence of Venezuelan immigrants in Brazil. With the help of Sociology, we identified the blind nodes in the discursive practices of *Jornal Nacional*. The arrival of the immigrants is narrated as a threat to normality and stability. The perpetuation of this discursive regime may function as a mechanism of exclusion, generating new fears and insecurities.

Keywords

journalism; silencing; immigrants; social exclusion; Venezuela

Migração venezuelana no *Jornal Nacional*

Resumo

Com o propósito de explorar os sentidos narrativos, este artigo analisa o discurso do *Jornal Nacional* (JN), da Rede Globo, sobre os venezuelanos deslocados para o Brasil, em decorrência da crise econômica, política e social em curso na Venezuela. Definimos como recorte temporal 17 edições de 2018, que enquadraram a presença de imigrantes venezuelanos no Brasil. À luz da Sociologia compreensiva identificamos nós cegos nas práticas discursivas do JN. A chegada dos imigrantes é narrada como uma ameaça à normalidade e à estabilidade. A perpetuação deste regime discursivo pode funcionar como um mecanismo de exclusão, gerador de novos medos e inseguranças.

Palavras-chave

jornalismo; silenciamentos; imigrantes; exclusão social; Venezuela

Texts and contexts

Current large-scale migration flows result from poverty, political persecution, war conflicts, economic crises, environmental issues. Mankind has long been migrating in order to escape from hunger, war, natural hazards. We could either go way back to 15th

and 16th centuries expansion and intercontinental colonization or stick to 20th century world wars. From a social perspective, today's Europe is changing thanks to migrations, not only of Syrians and Africans fleeing from wars, but also Europeans who migrate for economic reasons, for instance, in search of better job opportunities and quality of life. With regard to Latin America, colonization and migratory flows, including thousands of refugees, were responsible for its social structure.

Historically speaking, human beings have always sought dignity they could not find in their native countries beyond borders. Immigrants and refugees, however, are seen differently. According to respondents of a survey carried out with 16 040 people in several countries, not all of the refugees actually need to leave their countries. 61% of the respondents believe that there are terrorists amongst the refugees (Buarque, 2016). After this survey was made public, the UN, through ACNUR's spokesperson, "warned against the demonization of refugees".

The UN (Malik, 2014, p. 213) defines refugees as

> individuals who have left their native country and who are unable or unwilling to return to it because of fear of persecution, as because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a specific social group.

Bauman (2004, 2016, 2017) addressed the concept of wasted lives by theorizing on human waste in modern society, referring to migrants in Europe. He identified fear of refugees as an existential threat. Being different is seen as a threat to the European way of life or identity. The author mentions the industry of fear produced by the system itself and criticizes salvation by the power of the State.

Bourdieu (1998, p. 11) had already defined the immigrant as:

> *atopos*, devoid of place, displaced, unclassifiable (...). Not a citizen nor a foreigner, not totally on the Self side, nor totally on the Other's side, the "immigrant" exists within that "bastard" place of which Plato also speaks, on the frontier between social being and non-being. Displaced in the sense of incongruous and inopportune, creating embarrassment; makes it hard to think about (...). Out of place in their society of origin as in the host society, forces us to totally reappraise the question of the legitimate foundations of citizenship and the relationship between the state and nation or nationality. An absent presence, obliges us to call into question not only the reactions of rejection which, holding the state to be an expression of the nation, are justified by claiming to found citizenship on the community of language and culture (or even race), but also the assimilationist "generosity" which, confident that the state armed with education, can produce the nation, may dissimulate a chauvinism of the universal.

Back to Latin America, the Organization of American States (OAS, 2017, p. 13) published, in December 2017, a study on the status of human rights in Venezuela, in which it reports the frailty of democracy, an increase in repression, violence and insecurity,

pointing out the "severe political, economic and social crisis in the country for the past two years", "characterized by the generalized shortage of food, medication, medical care and equipment, among others. In 2015, there was a 180.9% increase in prices and in April 2016 80% of the population faced a shortage of food" (OAS, 2017, pp. 22-23).

According to the approaches taken by both the OAS' study (2017, p. 17), the crisis in Venezuela

> is a complex matter rooted in the interference of Executive Power in other public powers. This failure in separating powers reflects, in a particularly serious way, on the worrying intervention of Judicial Power, especially in the past two years. As consequence, the worsening of the recent crisis in Venezuela is closely connected to a series of decisions by the Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ), which represents interferences in the National Assembly (NA) and which have affected the principle of separation of powers. This situation worsened to the point of producing a change in the constitutional order.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2017, n.p.) comments on the ongoing process in that country, the external interferences, he recalls the "attempted coup in 2002 led by the opposition with the active support of the United States", which, in 2015, declared that Venezuela represented a "threat to US national security".

The effects of the world economic crisis and the blow in the oil sector in 2009 had consequences including for Venezuela. Right after the succession of the Bolivarian socialist (Botelho, 2008; Lopes, 2013; Schurster & Araújo, 2015) Hugo Chávez (1999-2013) by Nicolás Maduro, through a lively electoral process which made the opposition stronger, there was yet another drop, in 2014, in the price of oil in the international market.

Once again, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2017, n.p.) provides it with a context:

> the situation got worse, until December 2015, when the opposition won the majority of seats in the National Assembly. The Supreme Court of Justice suspended four deputies, claiming electoral fraud, and the National Assembly disobeyed. From then on, the institutional confrontation escalated and progressively spread to the streets, also fuelled by the severe economic and provision crisis all around the country. There were more than one hundred people dead; real chaos.

These facts are very likely to have contributed significantly to the beginning of a destabilisation process of economy which led Venezuela towards hyperinflation, the destocking of basic goods, shortage of food. The Venezuelan oil reserves – one of the country's strategic resources – are of international interest, mostly of neoliberal superpowers as the United States.

Concerned with external interferences in Venezuela, Boaventura Sousa Santos (2017, n. p.) reinforces the idea that

recent history shows that economic sanctions affect mainly innocent citizens rather than governments. We just have to remember the 500 thousand children who, according to the United Nations report from 1995, died in Iraq as a result of the imposed sanctions after the Gulf War. Let us also remember the half a million Portuguese or people of Portuguese descent that live in Venezuela. Recent history has also taught us that no democracy emerges stronger after foreign intervention.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees[1], one million Venezuelans have left their country between 2014 and 2017. The Brazilian Ministry of Justice (2017b, n.p.) reports about the regional overview of asylum in the Americas:

between January and September 2017, circa 48 500 Venezuelans have requested asylum around the world, nearly twice as many as in the preceding year. Until July 2017, it was estimated that there were around 300 000 Venezuelans in Colombia, 40 000 in Trinidad and Tobago, and 30 000 in Brazil, in different migratory or irregular situations.

Regarding Venezuelan immigration to Brazil, the Ministry of Justice (2017a, n.p.) reported that there has been a significant increase in asylum requests between 2010 and 2016. This year alone, there were 3 375 requests – about 33% of all the registers in the country in 2016. In 2015, 829 Venezuelans requested asylum. In its concluding remarks, the document quoted the "5 countries with the most asylum requests in 2016: Venezuela, Cuba, Angola, Haiti and Syria". That is to say, it does not happen by chance.

Regarding the period analysed in this article, *Jornal Nacional* (JN) chose not to mention the fact that other Latin American countries are welcoming Venezuelans. *G1 Roraima* published an article on 2018/03/02 with data that could have been used by *Jornal Nacional* (Costa & Brandão, 2018). "Venezuelans are also going to Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay", reports professor José Franco. He explains that the first to come were middle-class Venezuelans, and then people from working classes. According to JN March 10th 2018[2] edition, between January and February 2018, 24 466 Venezuelans asked to enter Brazil through Roraima's Federal Police station – almost three times more than in the same period in 2017. Because of the emphasis given to it during the news, this kind of speech shows that the arrival of middle-class Venezuelans to Brazil does not pose as a threat when compared to the arrival of others from poorer sectors of the population. This "regime of looking" perpetuates a non-acceptance and an impossible to live together speech that is processed by an awareness focused on unity rather than otherness (Martins, 2011, 2019).

Data gathered by the National Immigration Council, made public in September 2017 by UNHCR, gives details on the social, demographic and work profile of Venezuelan immigrants in Brazil:

[1]   Information retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/publications/fundraising/5a0bfff07/unhcr-global-appeal-2018-2019-americas.html

[2] Começa a campanha de vacinação contra o sarampo em Roraima (2018, March 10). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6569499/programa/

72% of the non-native Venezuelans are aged between 20-39, most of them are male (63%) and single (54%). Almost one out of three (32%) have a college degree or post-graduation, while three out of four (78%) have completed high school. Among the non-native, 82% have already requested asylum. In that case, a third is entitled to asylum, 23% have an employment card, 29% have a social security number and 4% do not have any documents. [3]

These data were also left out by JN.

Roraima is just the front door, even though many Venezuelans choose to settle there because of the proximity to their native country. According to JN and official sources from the municipality of Boa Vista and Roraima's government, there was chaos due to Venezuelan mass migration and federal authorities seem to do very little to solve the problem.

The state faces logistic problems and cannot provide immigrants with decent housing conditions. In spite of the transfer of federal resources, Roraima has already declared a state of social emergency, requiring a stronger presence of the armed forces in order to control the borders and deal with healthcare. Immigration is not chaotic, as the analysed discourses wants us to believe. The number of Venezuelans in Brazil "is considered to be low in absolute terms, when compared to the Brazilian population, territorial extension and reality in other countries of similar dimension", as mentioned by Camila Asano, Programme coordinator of the NGO Conectas Direitos Humanos, in an interview granted to *Nexo* (Charleaux, 2018). According to Camila Asano "immigrants, legal or illegal, correspond, today, to 1% of Brazil's overall population. In the United States, they correspond to 14%; in Argentina 4%. Brazil welcomes not many people and could welcome many more". She claims that "it is the lack of proper response that transmits a sense of crisis in Brazil".

JN's discourse from the perspective of interpretive Sociology

Interpretive sociology allowed us to analyse the discourse on refugees. According to sociology, discourse is seen as a symbolic power exercise (Bourdieu, 1989), accepted both by the "dominant" and the "dominated", as symbolic violence, within the social field and in a context of concrete relationships, of legitimate senders and receivers, according to legitimate and acceptable rituals. The individual distinguishes himself or herself through discourse, using language to be understood. Media discourses are also inscribed in that functioning scheme of symbolic systems (Martins, 2015).

Regarding concepts such as field and *habitus*, Bourdieu sees representations as collective and historical constructions which precede the individual, that is to say, they are pre-existent in social structures, but are reformulated by the individual through the language used to build a particular view of the world, influenced by assumed social status, and which guides their social practices.

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[3] Information retrieved from http://www.acnur.org/portugues/noticias/noticia/maioria-de-venezuelanos-em-roraima-e-jovem-possui-boa-escolaridade-e-esta-trabalhando/

Weber (1922/2004, p. 191) sees domination as

> a probability that a "command" of the "dominant" or "dominants" exercises influence on others ("those who are subordinated to domination"), and as a matter of fact, it influences them in such a way that those actions are carried out as if the dominated used the content of the command as the motto of their obedience actions.

Eagleton (1997, p. 83), based on Bourdieu, describes the legitimation of domination: "a dominant power may legitimate itself when those subjected to it come to judge their own conduct according to their rulers' criteria". Therefore, social practices (discourses and actions) are based on representations, judgements, biases, values, perceptions, symbolic capitals present in cognitive structures and internalised within the *habitus*.

The Sociology of Communication (Berkowitz, 1997; Breed, 1997; Schudson, 1986, 1988; Sousa Santos, 2000; Traquina, 2001; Tuchman, 1978) and concepts such as field and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1978, 1989, 1998) allow us to understand the news as the result of a symbolic construction process, in which there are social, cognitive, cultural aspects involved, whose producers belong to a journalistic community and are included in an organizational context of a given society. Media discourses contain several examples of demonization, silencing, ideologies, values upheld by media organizations, ruling powers and sources, made evident in the reconstruction of events organized by the news' structure.

In a research with a bigger reach, we have analysed 2017 and 2018 *Jornal Nacional* editions about Venezuela. The data were gathered between February and March 2018, on Globo Play's site[4] – *Jornal Nacional* – via register online, with the identification of the videos posted by JN between 2017 and 2018, whose titles identified the subject Venezuela. There were 50 stories in 2017 and 21 between January 1st and March 20th 2018. Given that space is limited, we chose to present our analysis on the content of 17 articles, out of a total of 21 presented between January 5th and March 20th 2018[5].

On January 26th 2018[6], *Jornal Nacional* aired a story about the worsening of the crisis after Maduro's government rejected the possibility of an opposing candidate to run for the elections which were brought forward to April. JN informs that the international community (namely the USA, Lima Group, Spain) has condemned the call for elections. The Venezuelan government, for the time being, has nothing to say about it. The crisis in Venezuela is presented in a way so that the public internalises JN's ideology. By ideology we mean a collective and group-adequate result, which best serves private interests that tend to conceal as universal (Bourdieu, 1989). There are no further explanations for what caused the economic crisis.

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[4] Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com

[5] We have excluded from the analysis two (text-only) news pieces and two news pieces accompanied by audio-video footage.

[6] Justiça da Venezuela barra aliança da oposição (2018, January, 26). *Jornal Nacional.* Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6452910/programa/

In February[7], *Jornal Nacional* aired stories focused on the "problems" the state of Roraima has had to face "because of the Venezuelans", including a resurgence of measles brought in "by unvaccinated Venezuelans", and on the Brazilian government and Roraima's actions to control the entry and the integration of these immigrants.

On 2018/02/08[8], an attack to Venezuelan immigrants was the highlight of JN's breaking news and follow-up story, which states that the "police are investigating gasoline attacks to two Venezuelan immigrants homes in Boa Vista"; it presents the report from one of the victims and highlights another attack in which a three year-old and dad got hurt. There were two cases in just three days. A federal government delegation went to Roraima to deal with "mass immigration of Venezuelans trying to escape the crisis". JN informs that forty thousand Venezuelans live in Boa Vista. Amongst the measures adopted by Palácio do Planalto (official workplace of the President of Brazil) there is an increase in border policing, the revalidation of Venezuelan doctors and teachers and a plan to take immigrants to other states (interiorization). In a news piece shown on February 9th 2018[9], JN declares that, according to the police, the same person – whose name was not disclosed – was responsible for both attacks. A surveillance camera caught the crimes. Several organizations signed a memorandum that repudiated xenophobia in Roraima.

A story run on February 12th 2018[10] addressed a meeting between President Temer and Roraima authorities, during which they decided to create a taskforce to tackle the problem of Venezuelan immigrants in that state. According to the news, Temer asked for the policing of the borders and created a federal bureau to keep up with the actions, and a census in order to ascertain the exact number of Venezuelan nationals. The President said that the army would stay in charge of all the actions, as well as Roraima's state government. Temer ended up issuing a provisional measure for channelling "all the necessary resources to solve the matter of Venezuelans in Roraima". Similarly to what happens with other subjects, JN shows numbers: there are 40 000 Venezuelans living in the capital. Only in January, 15.108 asked to enter Roraima through the border. They are trying to escape hunger and unemployment, JN repeats.

Among the headlines on February 15th 2018's[11] edition there is this one: "Brazil adopts measures to assist Venezuelans who arrived in Roraima". The story talks about

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[7] Calil and Barboza (2018) link the intensified debate on social networks about Venezuelan immigrants and the strengthening of this agenda on the media to two factors: "the parade of samba schools' Special Group in Rio (...) and President Michel Temer's trip, during Carnival holiday, to Roraima. (...) the debate, now, revolves around the arrival and welcoming of the immigrants to the country's borders". Retrieved from http://dapp.fgv.br/analise-de-redes-sobre-refugiados-venezuelanos-aponta-para-o-desafio-migratorio-em-roraima/

[8] Casas de imigrantes venezuelanos em Boa Vista são incendiadas (2018, February 8). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6487662/programa/

[9] Casas de venezuelanos em Boa Vista foram atacadas pela mesma pessoa, diz polícia (2018, February 9). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6491024/programa/

[10] Temer anuncia força-tarefa para tratar de imigrantes venezuelanos (2018, February 12). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6497344/programa/

[11] Governo federal decreta emergência social em Roraima (2018, February, 15). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6506359/programa/

the social emergency decree in that state, the deployment of 30 men of the national security force to help control the border. It also focuses on the immigrants' vaccination campaign. "In dire need of malaria medicine, Venezuelan woman cries grateful for having been taken care of. In Venezuela, there have been a few outbreaks of diseases such as measles" – a confirmed case of measles in a 1 year-old infant who lived in Boa Vista. The TV reporter says there had not been a single case of measles in Brazil since 2015. The Venezuelan woman tells that back home vaccines were not free and that now she feels safe. President Temer signed a provisional measure for emergency procedures to welcome immigrants, a decree for the creation of a federal commission to monitor the situation and another one that recognised Roraima's vulnerability "due to Venezuelans intense migration". The news story ends by adding that there are 40 000 Venezuelans living in Boa Vista.

Roberto Burnier reports the story (2018/02/16)[12] directly from Boa Vista. It starts at square Simon Bolívar – "a meeting point for Venezuelans" – with a detailed awareness raising report of the level of misery and poverty they live in today. He explains that hyperinflation in the neighbouring country is over 2000% a year. Burnier shows the queues Venezuelans wait in to obtain a refugee *status*. "As if all these problems were not enough, measles – a disease eradicated from Brazil since 2016 – resurged". Ingrid, an immigrant who has been living on the streets for a month, says: "I don't want them to bring me food. I want a job to make money".

Breaking news on February 17th 2018's[13] edition: "our reporters went to the border with Venezuela and proved that nothing has changed with the social emergency decree in Roraima because of the wave of immigrants that try to escape from crisis in the neighbouring country". Burnier interviews Carmen, who has migrated three years ago. She is here because she needs a job. "There is no food in Venezuela. There is nothing", she says. The emergency program for immigrants envisages

> social protection measures within infrastructures, health care and education, but in small Pacaraima Venezuelans are sleeping on the streets. A few of them try to find a job in the municipality, but most of them go to Boa Vista. At the border, a few Venezuelans exchange real for bolivar at a parallel rate – which is an illegal, clandestine activity. There is no monitoring. Moneychangers act freely.[14]

Burnier has talked to a Federal Police officer that

> cannot be identified. He said that, even though Temer has declared a state of social emergency, nothing has changed at the border. 30 National Public

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[12] Roraima começa a vacinar imigrantes venezuelanos contra o sarampo (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6509642/programa/

[13] Venezuelanos chegam todos os dias para buscar refúgio no Brasil (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6511798/programa/

[14] Venezuelanos chegam todos os dias para buscar refúgio no Brasil (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6511798/programa/

> Security Force soldiers are already at Pacaraima, but they have not taken any actions so far. The Federal Government stated that declaring a state of emergency does not close the borders, but provides resources, that the Federal Police and the Army have doubled their presence in that state and that on Monday there will be even more men in Roraima.[15]

JN shows us Venezuelan migration to Brazil through repetitions and discursive reinforcements: "a dramatic rise", "a wave of immigrants" from Venezuela that escape hunger, unemployment, high prices for every day goods, the "serious political, economic and social crisis". In short, from JN point of view, they are running from Hugo Chávez's Bolivarian socialist model, which is being perpetuated by Nicolás Maduro.

According to *Jornal Nacional*, the political crisis is previous to the economic and social crisis. The tone William Bonner adopted in the opening story on February 19th 2018[16], and the use of the superlative adjective, is clear:

> the terrible economic, social and political crisis in Venezuela has produced a migratory wave in northern Brazil. 800 Venezuelans arrive to the state of Roraima every day. In Boa Vista, they still depend on volunteer work to have something to eat.

Burnier shows children "struggling with hunger", the "despair" of having to search for food and Venezuelans' gratitude towards volunteers who distribute food items and leftovers. The journalist emphasizes the idea that while Maduro is in office, Iris will not go back to Venezuela. José recalls being hungry in the neighbouring country.

Burnier reaffirms that "many Venezuelans walk 220 km to reach Brazil through the municipality of Pacaraima. The humanitarian aid contemplated by the decree signed the previous week is scheduled only for Thursday this week"[17]. Army General Gustavo Dutra said that the logistic and humanitarian taskforce will welcome, register and help with the integration of immigrants.

In "Filhos da Imigração" [Children of Immigration], a story which aired on February 20th 2018[18], Bonner qualifies and characterises immigration using the adjective "massive" to report the problems Roraima has to deal with, relying once more on the metaphor of the power of nature: the "Venezuelan migratory wave to Brazil caused a massive increase of patients in Roraima's Public Healthcare facilities, mostly in search for a specific medical procedure". Burnier will soon break the suspense: in Roraima alone, there were 150 Venezuelan women who gave birth in January — "the children of Venezuelan

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[15] Venezuelanos chegam todos os dias para buscar refúgio no Brasil (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6511798/programa/

[16] Por dia, 800 venezuelanos entram no Brasil pela cidade de Pacaraima (RR) (2018, February 19). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6515990/programa/

[17] Por dia, 800 venezuelanos entram no Brasil pela cidade de Pacaraima (RR) (2018, February 19). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6515990/programa/

[18] Filhos da imigração: em Roraima, 150 venezuelanas deram à luz em janeiro (2018, February 20). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6519034/programa/

immigration". "We expect the number to rise. It is more and more common for pregnant Venezuelans to cross the borders with Brazil". The story presents us with data of Venezuelan births in Roraima: in 2016, there were 288; in 2017, 572. In 2018, there was an average of five births per day. Many of the pregnant women live on the streets in Roraima and come to the maternity ward malnourished. The number of premature babies is huge, Burnier points out. The maternity ward director confirms the journalist's concern.

Another "common" situation presented by JN as a threat and impending chaos in public healthcare facilities in the state of Roraima are Venezuelan women who live in Santa Elena – a municipality in the neighbouring country – and cross the border to give birth in Roraima because "the situation there is highly precarious". A lot of those women never go back to Venezuela. Having had Brazilian children their citizenship is guaranteed, contextualizes a source in Roraima's OAB, explaining why those mothers will not need to apply for asylum.

On February 21st 2018[19], a news piece read in 15 seconds informs that the Brazilian government will start to transfer Venezuelan immigrants from Roraima – the so-called integration. São Paulo and Amazonas shall be the first states to welcome foreigners "fleeing from the terrible crisis in the neighbouring country". On February 23rd[20], JN aired a story that supported OAS' view that Venezuela should postpone the presidential election and actually include all political parties.

Venezuelan immigration is included on February 26th[21] edition's breaking news. A story shows and informs that 100 army soldiers control the arrival of Venezuelans to Pacaraima: "only this year, 18 000 Venezuelans came to Brazil fleeing hunger and political crisis in their native country. During the weekend, almost 600 of them were registered in order to leave Roraima headed for Amazonas and São Paulo".

The excluding discursive silencing delineates an ideology (Bourdieu, 1998), imposes fear (Bauman, 2016), distinguishes the 'us' from the 'other' (Foucault, 1997), the ones that dominate from the ones that are dominated (Weber, 1922-2004). This "regime of looking" perpetuates a discourse of non-acceptance and impossibility of living together which is processed through awareness-raising focused on unity rather than otherness (Martins, 2011, 2019).

A few other cases of Venezuelans with measles make the news again on February 28th 2018[22]: there are already six confirmed cases in Roraima, especially in children. JN presents other numbers, pointing out the fact that the vaccination campaign will happen sooner and will prioritize Venezuelan immigrants as to prevent an outbreak "like the one in their native country".

[19] Governo brasileiro vai transferir de RR para outros estados imigrantes venezuelanos (2018, February 21). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6522041/programa/

[20] The OEA pede que Venezuela adie as eleições presidenciais (2018, February 23). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6528438/programa/

[21] Exército e Força Nacional controlam entrada de venezuelanos na região Norte (2018, February 26). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6534599/programa/

[22] Já são seis os casos confirmados de sarampo em crianças venezuelanas em Roraima (2018, February 28). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6540991/programa/

The newscast in March presents three news pieces and a story. On March 1st 2018[23], it addresses the postponement of the presidential election to the second half of May, without the presence of two of the most important rival leaders, prevented from participating by Maduro. The opponents organized a boycott of the elections. The following day, March 2nd[24], there is another news piece about the death of a four year-old child caused, as registered in the death certificate, by pneumonia, sepsis and severe malnutrition. This was one of the 12 cases under suspicion. Authorities had already confirmed six cases of measles in Venezuelan children, declared the piece.

A JN breaking story on March 10th[25] highlights the theme: "Roraima begins measles vaccination campaign. The state confirms eight cases. All Venezuelan". The campaign was brought forward due to the outbreak among Venezuelans currently in the state and who did not have access to vaccines in their country of origin. Other 38 suspected cases are being investigated. Brazil is preparing sanitation barriers to contain the outbreak. Brazil had no cases reported since 2015. At the end, the story lets us know that between January and February 2018, 24 466 Venezuelans had asked to enter Brazil through Roraima's Federal Police station – a number three times bigger than the same period in 2017.

Finally, on March 20th[26] a story reports, in scarce 26 seconds, the actions of a group of Mucajaí, Roraima, residents; they invaded a building occupied by Venezuelans, having thrown 50 immigrants out and burnt their belongings in protest against the murder of a resident, allegedly killed by a Venezuelan national during an attempted robbery. Protesters against immigration closed the highway which connects Brazil to Venezuela and demanded the closure of the borders.

When it comes to the stories presented by JN, disinformation results from the lack of trustworthy data concerning the current Venezuelan migration process to Brazil, justified by the lack of effective control of entries and exits of Venezuelan citizens at Roraima's border, especially since the economic crisis, when Venezuelans started crossing the border to buy cheaper food and basic goods.

An analysis on the discourse of *Jornal Nacional*

On January 26th, February 19th and 26th *Jornal Nacional* indicates Maduro's government as responsible for the dimension of the crisis, excluding global factors and foreign interventions. Besides, the lack of official sources (from the Venezuelan government) and different views on the political situation is impressive. We learn about the crisis through Maduro's opponents and the most influential countries in the OAS.

[23] Venezuela adia eleições presidenciais (2018, March 1). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6544191/programa/

[24] Criança venezuelana com suspeita de sarampo morre em Boa Vista (2018, March 2). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6547533/programa/

[25] Começa a campanha de vacinação contra o sarampo em Roraima (2018, March 10). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6569499/programa/

[26] Grupo expulsa venezuelanos em Roraima (2018, March 20). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6595539/programa/

Having analysed all those news pieces/stories, we infer that JN creates social representations of others and of self by using symbolic strategies, which are going to have social effects by interfering with the 'world-making', the "cultural subconscious", by internalizing and reproducing values, by perpetuating dominance relationships (Bourdieu, 1989).

On March 20th, 2018, JN quotes that the crisis got worse due to the drop in international oil prices. There is no previous contextual and time reference to this. Never does JN mention data from the UN's report (Jahan, 2017), the most recent one by that date, about, for example, progress in the country regarding the Human Development Index in the past few years. Their HDI was close to Brazil's, slightly higher. There is no mention whatsoever of the participation of multinational companies in Venezuela's oil market, of the attempts of interference by the US in Venezuelan politics, economic sanctions, or even of the tumultuous struggle of Chavéz and Maduro against American imperialism, and of the US against socialism (Lopes, 2013; Sousa Santos, 2017).

There is plenty of JN's critical positioning to human rights violation based on sources such as representatives from the UN, Mercosul, Spain, the US, Brazil, Argentine, Chile. The discourses from Maduro's government allies such as Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ecuador, are silenced; discourses that stand against Nicolás Maduro politics are highlighted.

News with a humanist point of view describe degrading situations in accommodation centres, and the tardiness in drawing up a program that allows refugees to live a decent life. JN never clarifies how the process of interiorization (sending immigrants to other states) really works. Most of the sources are refugees. Their testimonies are used to emphasize JN's point of view on Venezuela and its political model. Sources are hardly used as a counterpoint. Using Venezuelans as sources reinforces the idea that they are social actors who have been excluded and disempowered by Maduro's socialist structures and who see Brazil's political-economic model as an opportunity. JN presents the arrival of migrants and refugees as a challenge to order in northern Brazil.

The Brazilians from Roraima are portrayed as generous, exemplary, organizers of the chaos caused by Nicolás Maduro's socialism. However, apart from the solidarity of Boa Vista residents, JN also reports a series of attacks from Brazilians who are opposed to immigration. The newscast narrates how perversely refugees and migrants are treated and "managed" by governments according to market logics, being registered, controlled, relocated and redistributed.

Identity is a positioning, a suture of position and context, and not an essence or substance. Identities are not bound to place and time specific traditions; according to Hall (2003) they are fluid, hybrid. It is the "the (other's) presence that threatens us", makes us think, said Levinas (1961/2002). The other's difference allows us to be ourselves. Descombes (1998) said that to be different is to be distinct. Difference builds up identity, by "making objects and beings distinguishable and, therefore, recognised for their uniqueness", said Luiz Iasbeck (2009, pp. 97-98) by quoting Heraclitus "difference

(conflict, controversy) is mother of all things. That is to say, divergence resulting from differences creates multiple possibilities". This sort of vision of things keeps fear at bay.

In this study, the "others" are the Venezuelan immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, socialist Venezuela. The "us" represents capitalist Brazil, which ought to run from leftist threats. The "others" are those whose subjectivity is likely to be problematized, those who, according to Bourdieu (1089, 1998), exist from the moment they are named.

The portrayal of the Venezuelan "refugee crisis" happens through the legitimized symbolic world-making power which tends to establish an immediate sense of the world (Bourdieu, 1989). These social representations of others and of self, mediated by symbolic strategies, are going to have social effects by interfering with the 'world-making', the "cultural subconscious", by internalizing and reproducing values, by perpetuating dominance relationships. In a subjective point of view, being aware of this migratory phenomenon is "a consequence of previous symbolic struggles and expresses, in a somewhat different way, the state of relations of symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1989, pp. 139-140).

The vast majority of data in the selected sample are about the arrival of immigrants, the inaction of the Brazilian government in view of the facts, the increase in cases of measles. JN does not present any alternatives to address the "problem". The actions undertaken by the federal government show that the matter is in Roraima's hands. The actions under federal jurisdiction concerning the interiorization of these immigrants were neither supported nor questioned by JN. Its approval is in line with the selection of immigrants ready (willing?) to integrate the population in other states.

The arrival of immigrants is described as a threat to normalcy, to the stability that requires using the power and strength of the federal government in Roraima. JN spreads a sense of insecurity and chaos, by presenting numbers as absolute entities, without the proper context. The predominance of national interests builds up a dangerous discourse of on-going crisis that may lead to xenophobia. Many citizens reject refugees for fear of losing their social status, jobs, quality in healthcare. It is the fear of the other, fear of difference, as if it could endanger us in any way. It is no longer just the colour, idiom, race that bother us. The fear is about losing what immigrants are looking for: dignity to make their own choices, safety of an apparent stability.

The recurring use of the expression "wave of Venezuelan immigrants" by *Jornal Nacional* is a sort of silencing strategy that replaces the political and national interest agenda with editorial choices. This statement is evidenced by the scarcity of data published by public research institutions regarding the use of public services by Venezuelans in Roraima and Brazil's stand on the overall picture of welcoming vulnerable individuals (Simões, Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Moreira & Camargo, 2017).

Bourdieu's notions of field and *habitus*, and Foucault's reflections on discourse, allow us to perceive the news as the result of a symbolic construction, in which there are different motivations that emphasize silencing and pretexts that lead us to a focus on the event and not the problematic.

Final considerations

In the light of interpretive sociology and philosophy, we have analysed the "blind spots" of the "refugees' crisis" in JN's discursive practices. Establishing that there was a silencing allowed us to understand exclusion mechanisms and "the domestication of the dominated" (Weber, 1922/2004), hidden at first glance.

JN's narratives do not contribute for differences to cohabit. As pillars of monetized society, the media, economy and politics are focused on the unity that assimilates difference, dominates the subordinates. This "unity regime" works through analogy and match, reminds us Martins (2011, p. 46): what seems strange to us is not legitimate, nor can it be legitimised. Difference gets annulled due to the impossibility to co-exist; this leads us to the "fragmentation of experience".

Perpetuating the discursive regime about the other works as a mechanism of exclusion, domestication – exercise of power, the will of truth, generator of fears and insecurities; at the same time creates and maintains "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1970, 1988, 1997): insecure man, dependent, experiences a fake autonomy and participation through consumption. Perhaps a parody of resistance, but good enough for the dominant to keep their dominion, according to Foucault. Indeed, as Foucault pointed out, good rulers love the indignation of the ones being ruled, provided that it continues to be idyllic. For power to prosper, and according to Martins' own words (2011), we keep the resistance, and this makes individuals even more dependent on their jobs and salaries to survive and pay for other dependencies, technological, sensory and erotic.

Once JN is legitimised and recognised as a trustworthy interlocutor by society, it will have the authority to elaborate perceptions of the world that may also become their readers' perceptions. It is the way the field, *habitus* and symbolic power, addressed by Bourdieu, work. JN conveys the idea that Brazil may be in a different civilizational *status* when compared to Venezuela. As a developing country, it erases its own colonial history in order to take a pedestal after comparing its capitalist production to Maduro's socialism. It is this twisted vision that reinforces the impossibility of being different. Both countries are colonial. Brazil is also facing political-economic instability, but it is, nevertheless, the best option for Venezuelan immigrants. When it comes to its narratives, JN erases the Brazilian crisis. Its focus is on data that can generate fear in Brazilian people, like having to give in some space to Venezuelans in terms of jobs and healthcare.

"Giving voice" to immigrants and refugees does not mean you respect and recognise their status of otherness. The media are a legitimate field for ideological disputes. JN stands for its views on the world in their narratives about Venezuelans, through a nationalist, colonialist discourse, in which echoes neoliberalism and capitalism as the only way to guarantee social development.

Translation: Helena Antunes

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Cultural policy as a governmental field: entrepreneur artists

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Abstract

This article presents some aspects of the work of the British researcher Tony Bennett (1988, 1998, 2008, 2011) about cultural policy and artistic field. The author adopts Foucault's (2016) concept on governmentality and suggests the encounter between post-Kantian aesthetics and liberal thought at the end of the eighteenth century allowed for the arts and cultures to be understood as a governmental field. This trend can be seen in the development of cultural policies, particularly those starting from the middle of the twentieth century, and, more recently, in the spread of the concept of creative economy. We further elaborate on Foucault's thought, especially on entrepreneurship and human capital. The hypothesis is that one of the factors that transforms art circuits into a matter of concern in contemporary society is the manner how artists invest their own life into artistic production. Interest groups are multiplied and struggle for better work conditions and public policies. On the other hand, networks run the risk of limiting themselves to their own circuits, thus fragmenting the cultural field. The challenge is to turn art and culture into a common good, which is part of the population's daily life.

Keywords

governmentality; entrepreneurship; art; culture; cultural policy

As políticas culturais como um campo de governo: artistas empreendedores de si

Resumo

Este artigo apresenta alguns aspectos da obra do pesquisador inglês Tony Bennett (1988, 1998, 2008, 2011) sobre as políticas culturais e os circuitos artísticos. O autor adota o conceito de governamentalidade, proposto por Foucault (2016), e sugere que o encontro da estética pós-kantiana com o pensamento liberal, no final do século XVIII, criou condições para que as artes e a cultura passassem a ser vistas como um campo de governo. Essa tendência é visível no desenvolvimento das políticas culturais, especialmente a partir de meados do século XX e, mais recentemente, na difusão do conceito de economia criativa. Em seguida, a proposta é avançar sobre o pensamento de Foucault (2008), especialmente sobre as noções de empreendedorismo e capital humano. A hipótese é que um dos fatores que faz dos circuitos da arte um foco de interesses na sociedade atual é a maneira como os artistas investem a própria vida na criação de suas obras. Com isso, multiplicam-se grupos de interesse, que lutam por melhores condições de trabalho e políticas públicas. Por outro lado, corre-se o risco de que as redes se fechem em seus próprios circuitos, fragmentando o campo cultural. O desafio é fazer com que as artes e a cultura se transformem, de fato, em um bem comum, que faça parte do cotidiano da população.

Introduction

Recent events, such as the extinction and re-creation of the Ministry of Culture during Michel Temer's government and changes in the Incentive Law (Law No. 8.313/1991) made culture and arts gain more visibility in Brazilian media, although the news are not always positive: budget cuts and lack of heritage preservation are some of the problems. At the same time, terms such as "creative economy" or "cultural economics" are repeated by managers, researchers and economists. Aside from partisan political actions, (even when there is pessimism and a certain nostalgic tone) arts and culture still draw the public's attention in contemporary societies somehow.

At the launch of the first two volumes of the *Atlas Econômico da Cultura Brasileira* [*Economic Atlas of Brazilian Culture*], in April 2017, Brazil's Minister of Culture, Roberto Freire, stressed that culture is responsible for 4% of Brazil's GDP (Gross Domestic Product) according to a study published in 2010 by UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) (Bocchini, 2017). In addition to its economic side, in the first decade of the 2000s, the proliferation of tenders and awards for artistic languages also contributed to the work of artists and collectives in the country, especially in large cities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. For these and other reasons, a consensus seems to be reached that the incentive to the arts and culture is important – and indeed, it is essential in present times.

However, according to Foucault, not everything can be thought of at all times. The arts as we know them are a relatively modern invention, a little over two centuries old. For the historian Larry Shiner (2001), they emerge from the encounter of institutions (museums, galleries, libraries, theaters, academies), ideas (such as the various aesthetic currents) and power relations. It was not until the late eighteenth century, with the decline of absolutist monarchies and the development of the market, that this set of practices and statements asserted itself as an autonomous field pertinent to economics and politics – or, more precisely, as a confrontational space permeated by ambivalent relations of force and power, always in search of an internal coherence or something that differentiates it from other aspects of society.

As described by Bourdieu (1998), the daily struggle of a generation is what contributed to the artistic languages and their circles becoming self-referential in the nineteenth century. However, there are many circles of art, as well as many differences, connections, divergences and juxtapositions between culture, politics and economy: from predominantly commercial proposals to political protests and the denial of the market by experimental currents. More than circles, there exist networks of artists, investors, critics, and entrepreneurs who are interested in certain subjects or languages, adopt similar lifestyles, and share codes of conduct.

Numerous approaches are also possible to this field. English researcher Tony Bennett (1998, 2011) has chosen to look at the aesthetic tradition that, based on the European experience, has settled in much of the West since the late eighteenth century. The author approached the concept of governmentality, proposed by Foucault (2016), to investigate how art and culture became not only a focus of interest, but mostly something that needs to be managed. If what is understood today as art was built, not without conflict, by the efforts of artists and other professionals, the need to outline public policies for culture[1] is not evident either: it emerges from specific historical conditions, such as the growth of cultural industries, but also from human freedom to act. Therefore, commitment of governments, private initiatives and society in general is required for it.

This article aims to present some aspects of Bennett's work. The author constantly mentions England, not because it is his homeland, but to dialogue with Cultural Studies and because the country was one of the cradles of economic liberalism. Bennett (2008) believes that the meeting between liberal thought and the aesthetic regime is what led the management of the arts and culture to be thought of in the still utilitarian British lands even before the growth of cultural industries. After presenting some topics of the author's work, we intend to advance on the concepts of entrepreneurship and human capital, also studied by Foucault (2008). Our hypothesis is that the way artists now invest their lives in the daily struggle to create their works is one of the factors that illuminate the circuits of art and make them a focus of interest.

Foucault and studies on culture

Bennett was not the first researcher in his field to dialogue with Foucault. In the 1960s, the founders of Cultural Studies, including Raymond Williams (1967) and Stuart Hall (1980), sought to differentiate two concepts of culture: the first, related to the autonomous field of Fine Arts, refers to a certain "ideal of perfection"; the second, adopted by the researchers, is broader and refers to the "act of attributing and receiving meanings". The authors suggested that, after a period dominated by the aesthetic tradition, culture would become ordinary, everyday life, and proposed that this term – so difficult to define—must be rethought within the context of power relations. For them, culture is a complex space in which different influences combine and conflict. This line of research has grown and fragmented, but to this day some common questions prevail around the *representations*, *identity*, *subjectivity* and *authority* of statements that stand out in multiple social groups: "who is the one talking?" (Hesmondhalgh, 2013).

The interest in the present and the relations between power and knowledge, essential to Foucault, are visible in these formulations. However, the theoretical references were distinct. While Williams (1967) and his colleagues were grounded on Marxist motivations, such as the desire to give voice to the working classes, revealing the multiplicity of their artistic and cultural manifestations, the French thinker strove to show power relations are always bilateral. Power, be it political, religious or social, is not localized, not situated only

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[1] Set of government actions that focus on the artistic and cultural practices of the population.

in the State, in the capital, or in a ruling class. It spreads throughout society. This was the main point of divergence between both proposals: Foucault was criticized for "not understanding how the economic relations of capitalism would constitute a unified principle of social formation". That is, the philosopher was scolded in England precisely because of his unique work: his conception of the microphysics of power could not form the basis for a wider struggle of society with "revolutionary potential" (Bennett, 1998, p. 63).

The prevailing concept among researchers in Cultural Studies at the time was that of hegemony, proposed by the Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci. If, for Foucault, power is dispersed, for Gramsci (quoted in Bennett, 1998), it has a unified origin. His theory states that the low income class strive for support and active participation in the projects of the ruling classes. Thus, a consensus would form in which hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces are at stake. The role of researchers would be to analyze these forces in order to fight against the processes of domination.

Bennett (1998) notes that, in his reading of the romantic tradition, Williams criticized not only the elitism of the definition of culture but also its practical difficulties: how to propose modes of resistance starting from a totalizing concept? He also sought to distance himself from intellectuals who said that engagement with existing forms of public policy was not necessary, moving away from abstract and transcendent cultural criticism. The author even collaborated with cultural institutions after World War II and acknowledged the importance of Keynes, the architect of the Arts Council, for his "open spirit". However, Bennett (1998) also states that, despite Williams' engagement for a long time, public policy issues were virtually absent from the debates proposed by Cultural Studies. By adopting the concept of hegemony that permeates society as a whole, many researchers failed to look at practical issues. Moreover, in opposing the romantic notion of culture, Williams and his colleagues failed to realize that, despite the relevance of their work, they were not the only ones concerned with diversity. After all, the development of this field of research coincides with the extension of popular, mass and everyday culture even by government agencies.

Indeed, after World War II, with the emancipation of European colonies in Africa and Asia and the growth of migratory movements, the lifestyles of various social groups became the center of attention for governments seeking strategies to absorb this population into society. Bennett cites as an example teaching methods in English public schools that, for the first time, dealt with students who did not have access to European cultural standards. Teachers, psychologists and educators started valuing the habits and cultural artifacts of their students' places of origin to approach children and adolescents. In addition, the communication media evolved and the cultural industries grew, especially in the United States, which started to export movies and music all over the world.

Other countries' governments also turned their eyes to the arts during this same period. The prime example of this is France, which created the Ministère d'État chargé des Affaires Culturelles in 1959, known as the world's first Ministry of Culture how we know it. Actions to promote artists, heritage preservation and cultural democratization were the pillars of the ministry during André Malraux's management (Poirrier, 2012).

However, cultural diversity and the mass media quickly came into the picture. In a pamphlet written in 1968, Jean Dubuffet opposed the notion of diversity to the state's centralization in the cultural field: "in this field, everything that tends toward hierarchization, selection, concentration is harmful because the result is sterilizing the vast, uncountable and abundant breeding ground of multitudes" (Dubuffet, 2012, p. 69).

These matters had international effect. Despite the libertarian ambiance of the events of May 1968, in the following years debates on the role of the State in the cultural field intensified. In 1970, the "Intergovernmental Conference on the Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies" was held in Venice. The creation of state policies for culture and the strengthening of national identities were among the recommendations of the final report, especially in former colonies in Asia and Africa, which would have traditional habits and customs threatened by cultural industries. Brazil, still during the military dictatorship, even presented a project at the conference, which would become the Cultural Action Plan (PAC), launched in 1973 to fund activities in the areas of music, folklore, circus, theater and cinema. In 1975, the Brazilian government created the National Foundation of the Arts (Funarte). Still under a military regime, for the first time, a national structured cultural policy was formulated in the country.

In 1981, a new change came from France: the Ministry of Culture was renamed the Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication and its mission was changed: individual creativity took the place of art democratization, and respect for regional and international cultures acquired emphasis (Poirrier, 2012). Assuming this direction, in the 1980s, focus on multiculturalism increased, and the then French Minister of Culture Jack Lang became internationally known for extending policies to previously "excluded" genres such as rock and hip-hop. In Brazil, the Ministry of Culture was transformed into an autonomous section in 1985, with the broader proposal to foster creativity. In his opening speech, the economist Celso Furtado states:

> we live in a rapidly changing civilization. At a time of revolution in communication technologies. Culture is not just the heritage we have received from the past. Regardless of the importance of defending cultural heritage, we cannot ignore that the essence of humankind as a creator of culture lies in its creativity, in being able to break with the past while feeding on it (...). Creating conditions for creativity to be fully exercised – this is the essence of what we call democracy. (Furtado, 2012, pp. 52-53)

The trend would strengthen, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries, from the 1990s onwards: culture, now based on the concept of creativity, was now seen as one of the drives of the economy. In 1994, Australia was declared a Creative Nation, and in 1997 Tony Blair formed a team to map the UK's creative industries while increasing the arts subsidy. It was not long before the idea spread around the world. In 2005, the Brazilian government signed the "Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions", promoted by Unesco. In this document, culture assumed the role of "strategic element" for "sustainable development" and became a "source of material

and immaterial wealth", capable of contributing to the "eradication of poverty", the protection of "traditional" knowledge, the improvement in the "women's conditions", among other topics. The objectives would be achieved through "free circulation of ideas", "constant exchanges" and "interaction between cultures". Globalization was cited as an opportunity, but also as a risk of "imbalances between rich and poor countries". Given this context, some researchers (belonging to a generation that Hesmondhalgh, 2013, calls quasi-Foucaultian since it deviates from its initial purposes) turned their attention to new forms of public policy, which aimed to expand the economic role of industries now called creative industries. In a mix of technological optimism and postmodernism, authors such as John Hartley (quoted in Hesmondhalgh, 2013) ended up increasingly turning to practical and administrative aspects and moving away from criticism against power relations.

This scenario of creative explosion eventually generated negative repercussions. Some authors argue that aesthetic issues are left in the background when innovation is at stake, in marketing terms. Indeed, the concept of creative economics was built on the rising value of intellectual property and the growth of activities such as design, software production, advertising, performing arts, publishing, and the art market. But Thomas Osborne (2003, p. 508) points out that while it appears to be merely ideological (as a response to the needs of capitalism), to say that the constant appeal for creativity simply responds to structural needs would be to "ignore the fact that the creative explosion is also a product of human action", of "experts' machination" and "intellectual workers". Creativity is not just something you expect to find. Psychologists, managers and human resources professionals, among others, do not cease to seek conditions for its production. This makes creativity a problem not only of ideology, but especially of governmentality, to use the term coined by Foucault (2016). Precisely the breaking of paradigms, originality and creation are among the main points of modern and contemporary artistic movements. For this reason, the arts are certainly situated in this way of managing life that, in some way, was already present even before Cultural Studies were founded, intensifying dramatically from the 1980s onwards.

A GOVERNMENTAL FIELD

Considering the increasing articulation in the field of government between the arts (expanded by the concept of cultural diversity), the economy and the creative industries, Bennett (1998) suggested studying Foucault's work from a different viewpoint than that previously adopted by the British, especially the representatives of Cultural Studies. Still in the 1980s, the author joined a research group on the history of the present, which analyzed the composition and operation of modern forms of government in various fields, such as economics, education, psychoanalysis, ethics, citizenship, and culture.

Studies on liberalism, which also gained momentum in the 1980s, were central to Bennett's research (1998), which once again referred to Foucault (2016). As for the latter, in the liberal regime that emerged in the late eighteenth century, the idea prevailed that

a society is made up of free citizens, who articulate themselves to achieve heterogeneous interests. However, to enable these free citizens to be able to integrate into society as "normal" individuals, they must follow certain codes of conduct and pay attention to their own behavior. The so-called *disciplinary societies*, which comprised the same period (from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries), had as their main feature the enclosure of bodies in institutions such as schools, hospitals and prisons. Influenced by these ideas, researchers such as Jeffrey Minson (quoted in Bennett, 1988) attributed a similar meaning to cultural equipment. And indeed, influential authors of the nineteenth century, such as the economist William Stanley Jevons, bet on the utilitarian character of these spaces:

> the main raison d'être of public and free libraries, as well as museums, art galleries, parks, buildings, clocks, and many other types of public places, is the enormous increase in utility the community acquires for negligible cost. If a beautiful painting is hung in the dining room of a private home, it may be seen by a few guests once or twice a year. Its real usefulness often lies in its contribution to its owner's selfish pride. If it is exhibited at the National Gallery, it will be admired by hundreds of thousands of people whose glances, needless to say, tend not to deviate from the picture. (quoted in Bennett, 1998, p. 108)

The "principle of marginal utility", coined by Jevons (quoted in Bennett, 1998, p. 108), states that museums and other cultural institutions can be used as tools for public instruction, which brings them closer to educational, statistical and health programs. However, Bennett (1988) suggests that, although they have enclosed artwork within their walls, museums and other cultural facilities have opened their doors to much of the population. One example is the South Kensington Museum (London, England), which was conceived as a centralized depot where artistic objects could circulate to the provinces to spread the positive influences of culture across English territory. Analyzing this and other examples, Bennett (1998) perceives a complex relationship between surveillance strategies and spectacle techniques. Museums and other cultural facilities, as well as hospitals, schools and prisons, would indeed be an answer to the problem of public order. But the drive to foster culture involves something beyond "discipline and training of bodies": the conquest of "hearts and minds" (Bennett, 1998, p. 76).

Bennett (1998) concludes that the effort to multiply the circles of art is driven by a governmental logic: rather than representing power, art is itself seen as a form of power in the service of a program whose purpose is not exactly the dominance over the population, but rather the development of their capabilities. Once again, it is Foucault the author refers to. For the French philosopher, a society is full of fields of knowledge and power. In the first, statements that are according to the speeches of lay people or experts conveyed in the media or in official reports, dispersed in everyday conversation or from any other source, produce "historical truths" that serve as reference for a period. The second is the domain of practices, of the "governance of behaviors", which guides ways

of life and is permeated by relations of force and power. Actions exerted over individuals, either by themselves or by institutions, lie in this field. The intertwining between these two dimensions results in the way in which each one acts upon themselves, governing their own acts and thoughts (Costa, 2014, pp. 118-119). What the various forms of liberal government propose is that people have autonomy to lead their own lives, being guided by ethical values that incline them to follow certain behavioral patterns. Some examples are the increase or decrease in consumption, the adoption of healthy habits, and even the frequency of access to cultural facilities.

The contact with a work of art, according to Bennett (2011), is thus understood as an exercise that can make people turn to themselves, either to behave "properly" in cultural spaces (not running, talking in a low voice, not eating or drinking, not touching objects), even during the act of contemplation itself. The author resorts to philosophy to support his argument, placing the discourse of aesthetics (particularly Kantian) within the set of technologies in the liberal government, which acts by a particular mode of "guided freedom". For the English researcher, aesthetics – which arises with the Enlightenment – would be one of many ethical processes, more concerned with inducing individuals to shape their behavior through particular modes of self-government than by prescribing moral codes.

The Enlightenment is very precisely defined: not akin to the age of reason, which postmodernism would oppose to, but as a particular way of thinking and acting in which we are still immersed, marked by the constant questioning of the present itself and by the incessant search for truths (plural) that manifest themselves in science or society. This attitude, according to Osborne (1998), aims to, among other aspects, build rational processes that can promote freedom. It turns out that "being free" also has a precise meaning, which Bennett (2011) and Osborne (1998) derive from Kant's work: the independence both of external coercion as well as inner emotions and feelings. Human beings are not free when they act without moral values, but when they subject their actions to ethical values they chose to follow. The issue becomes more complex when one thinks of individuals in society.

In the article "Answer to the question: what is the Enlightenment?", Kant (1784, p. 35, quoted in Bennett, 2011) dedicates himself to the subject based on two concepts: the private and the public uses of reason. The first refers to our activity as "employees", "when we are components of a society or government whose principles and goals are those of the collective good" (Kant, 1784, p. 35, quoted in Bennett, 2011, n. p.). The latter is the activity produced out of our own understanding and faculties as we position ourselves as a universal subject. The challenge Enlightenment faces would be to make a public use of reason, to think for oneself, without someone else's tutelage. But the philosopher's proposal is not the complete substitution of private use for the public use of reason. What the German thinker suggests is a proportional division between the two uses, since it is the public use of reason – in which there are neither tutors nor authoritative relations – that regulates the spheres in which private use is exercised. That is, freedom

of thought leads to the conclusion that obeying certain codes of conduct is essential for the integration of individuals into the community and the construction of the commons.

Foucault (2013) dedicated the first classes of his course "The government of self and others" to this subject, stating that Kant's article was one of the first modern texts dealing with present itself and the governance of conduct. Bennett (2011), in turn, resorted to another philosopher, Deleuze, to relate these ideas to the multiplication of artistic circles. For the authors, Kant's aesthetics is associated with the disinterested and free pleasure of conceptual judgment, and thus opens the way to produce a universality space, in which the principles of public use of reason could be freely exercised. Under this bias, aesthetics would operate as a technology of self. Without political or religious restrictions, art would be the field of a potentially unlimited but at the same time unreachable freedom.

Even today these notions are recurrent. When Rancière (quoted in Bennett, 2011), for instance, proposes the aesthetic regime, he goes back to Kant's work, which disconnects art from interested activities. The author refers to a "partage du sensible" (sharing of the sensitive), which allows works from different times and places to share the same space, acquire new meanings and be part of new compositions. According to Bennett (2011), even researchers such as Bourdieu are closer to these ideas than they seem to be. For the French sociologist, art is both historical – for it is the result of a particular set of social circumstances and cultural relations – and transhistorical – for it is the way the work is conditioned by social relations that allow it to break free of temporal limits and to transcend them to reach their value as a source of knowledge. Understanding the historical processes that led to the development of the artistic field allows artists to continue to fight for their autonomy, threatened mainly by commercial factors, and to make efforts to give more people access to pieces of art (Bourdieu, 1998).

If, for Bourdieu (quoted in Bennett, 2011), the redistribution of freedom by social classes is achieved by equal access to the cultural field, for Rancière (quoted in Bennett, 2011), the aesthetic regime of art allows for a redistribution of the sensible, ensures the right to speech, and weakens the distinction between voice and noise in the name of equality. What Bennett (2011) suggests with these approaches is that, despite the different perspectives, Bourdieu and Rancière, among many other authors, are products of a technology of government that seeks to produce and distribute freedom. These matters are not just theoretical. From the effort to distribute the works of the South Kensington Museum up to the concern with multiculturalism in British public schools, these matters concern particular ways of governing the conduct being discussed. Bennett does not mean that all cultural equipment was built for the same purpose or that no other aesthetics exist. His assumption is that, consciously or not, much of the work of managers, researchers, and other cultural professionals emerges from the desire to open this field of freedoms, which becomes possible when individuals turn to themselves and conduct their lives ethically.

Far from being mere utopia or a certain naive ideology, these goals are consistent with liberal thinking, which, on the other hand, does not mean that they are corrupted by

capitalism or that the concern of so many professionals is not authentic. Bennett (1998, 2011) considers the commitment of all who seek to expand the reach of the arts to be essential, and therefore strives to show that this particular way of understanding cultural policies is not a natural one, but rather built from particular statements and events. More than that, the author proposes that instead of discussing only ideological issues, specific government techniques that act directly on individual conduct should be analyzed. Examples include actions that can broaden the audience of a theater or strategies to ensure access to national films. After all, when one realizes the "multiplicity of everyday issues in the field of cultural administration" (Bennett, 1998, p. 82) and recognizes that culture is ordinary in this sense, it is easier to understand, as in any other area of activity, that its future depends on how practical matters are formulated and resolved. In other words, it is the understanding of everyday forces – and the techniques used in conduct governance – that makes the struggle for public policies and other actions of collective interest possible.

Entrepreneurs of self

Bennett (1998, 2011) revolves around the concept of governmentality, emphasizing post-Kantian aesthetics, but there are other aspects of Foucault's (2008) work that may contribute to the study of cultural policies and the dynamics of the artistic field: human capital and entrepreneurship. In general, Foucault (1998) noticed a difference between nineteenth-century liberalism and neoliberalism that became stronger in the second half of the twentieth century: in the latter, work ceased to be understood only as a productive force and came to be seen as the result of investing in factors such as education and culture that employees offer in exchange for a salary. What characterizes the neoliberal regime is thus not the free market, but the business logic, competition: when labor becomes a capital, human capital, each worker becomes a small business unit.

The entrepreneur profile is essential in this environment. In the 1940s, the economist Joseph Schumpeter (1947) already defined wealth as a function of the innovative breakthrough of economic routines. For him, the invention comes from society's power of creation, and it is the entrepreneur who appropriates this force to insert it into the economic process as innovation. However, according to Foucault (2008), the boldness of capitalism and permanent competition are not enough to explain economic growth. If people discover new forms of productivity, or make technological inventions, it is due to the income originated from human capital or the "set of investments that have been made in man himself" (Foucault, 2008, pp. 317-318). With the expansion of communication, this form of work is no longer restricted to factories and offices. If we are always connected and networked, and if we cannot stop thinking, we are always working, even in times of rest and leisure. For Foucault, the power exerted to this particular life, which consists of constant investments similar to those of capital, is characterized as biopolitics, namely politics over life.

For the researcher Peter Pelbart (2013), it is no coincidence that the thematic of governmentality, liberalism and entrepreneurship appears in Foucault's work at the same

time that the author investigates "self-care". Power is thought of as "action upon action" or "conduct upon conduct" and, as such, includes the prerequisite of the subject's freedom: "the government conceived as 'structuring the eventual field of action of others' presupposes a respective subject, that is, a correlate, or one who resists it" (Pelbart, 2013, p. 60). The figure of the entrepreneur, gifted with invention and self-confidence, is therefore perfectly consistent with neoliberal society. Identity issues and disputes over meaning also emerge in the most diverse social groups through the relations between power and freedom, as well as between government techniques and processes of subjetivation.

Traditionally, it is the figure of the artist (as constructed since the eighteenth century in Western culture) who turns to oneself and uses one's own processes of subjectivation as one's own. However, we no longer handle with the Kantian genius nor the construction of a universality environment, although such matters do not cease to exist. The aesthetic concern resists and finds new ways, but the arts also circulate elsewhere, giving voice to different social groups: from researchers investigating experimental languages to young people protesting through hip-hop; from the members of the municipal bands and the traveling circuses to the musicians who dedicate themselves to the formal perfection of the concert pieces; from the more commercial producers to artists who turn into dance, theater, performance, visual arts or literature gender, social and racial issues. The lives of these artists have certainly been invested in their work. Because of this, they claim their place in artistic and cultural circles, dedicating themselves daily to the execution of their projects, joining political parties or fighting for public policies. Their interests sometimes intersect, sometimes conflict in this terrain where aesthetics, economics, politics and, above all, affect are at stake.

Some Brazilian examples help to give substance to this theoretical question: in the 2000s, civil movements intensified, directly affecting the course of cultural policies. In São Paulo, the articulation of artists and culture professionals contributed to the creation and implementation of various actions, such as the Municipal Program for the Promotion of Theater (Law No. 13,278/2002), the Municipal Program for the Promotion of Dance (Law No. 14,071/2005) and the Program for the Appreciation of Cultural Initiatives - VAI (Law No. 13.540/2003). More recently, social and racial issues have come to focus more strongly on the claims of an important portion of the artistic class. The Periphery Culture Promotion Program (Law 16,496/2016) illustrates some of the results obtained. However, the matter is not restricted to public promotion, but extends to the whole of society. An example is the increase in the museum public in 2019. According to the website G1, visits increased 61% in the first half of the year: among the main reasons are exhibitions that highlight minorities or previously underrepresented groups (Matos, 2019). These aspects demonstrate the daily life of various social groups, their affects and perceptions, their anxieties and desires, life itself invested in art. On the other hand, its dynamics can lead to a competitive environment, a dispute for support or funds, which can end up hampering the development of arts and culture policies.

More than techniques aimed at producing and distributing freedom through aesthetic contemplation, it is the artists' own freedom, the ways in which they conduct their

lives and create their works, that draw attention to cultural administration – not only that of the politics of State, but mainly those spread by private initiatives, non-governmental organizations and other institutions. As a result, another more practical aspect of entrepreneurship also appears. Artists must learn to write projects, make financial projections, get in touch with the press or marketing departments, i.e. they are required to manage their work according to a clearly entrepreneurial dynamic. The growth of cultural industries, the appeals to the creative economy, the financial logic that is often visible in public tenders and awards, the tax incentive laws, all of them reinforce this way of thinking and acting. Thus, adopting the research method suggested by Bennett allows us to see that, today, more than the production of freedom, what is governed is the artist's life as self-entrepreneur.

Final considerations

In a society in which a certain corporate and entrepreneurial logic predominates, and in which life itself is transformed into an object of government, there is naturally competition. If speaking of a universal aesthetic space is not possible, but several interest groups multiply, public policies or private initiatives tend to fragment. It is important and legitimate that the artistic and social currents be strengthened and create mechanisms of continuity if, in most cases, culture is not understood as a priority, neither by the state nor by the population in general. However, it is worth recalling Bourdieu's (1998) still current call for artists to fight for their autonomy, particularly in relation to commercial interests. Bennett's proposal (1998, 2011) of understanding the government techniques of conduct affecting artistic circles is also essential.

Since Bourdieu (1998) emphasizes autonomy, he does not propose that the field of the arts be enclosed within itself, ignore social and cultural issues, or be used as a way of distinguishing between classes. His research denounces some of these trends, and so the author expects the opposite: he expects that more and more people can participate in artistic circles and that they have enough freedom not to be determined by political and economic forces, despite the exchanges and relations between fields being necessary and inevitable. However, Bourdieu (1998) also draws attention to the historical character of art and shows only when one strives for common goals, such as increasing the budget for culture and building comprehensive public policies, does one have the strength to propose effective actions. This is not about fighting for a universal art that probably never existed. But understanding that, when individuals and groups are able to integrate their power and their affects, there is also room for the multiplicity of knowledge, artistic expressions, and ways of life.

On the other hand, it is necessary to look closely at the present, as Foucault states, to understand the forces that constitute it. If knowledge and communication are essential for today's economy, and if even consumer goods are sold as ideologies and images, then the existence of interest in culture and creative activities is clear. The spaces where this interest is focused also need to be verified; in the cultural industries and marketing

departments, no doubt, but not only there. As the attention given to the creative economy demonstrates, power today lies in the ability of each artist to undertake and generate wealth – and within this context, autonomy can gain another meaning, leading to isolated actions and networks that close themselves. If the power of invention exists and is more than ever present in society, how can it be transformed into a common good? Bennett's message is clear: getting involved in practical issues, knowing the cultural proposals of municipalities, states and country, mapping the actions and people involved, addressing laws and edicts, but, above all, seeking solutions that extend to as much of the population as possible. This way, the arts and culture can actually enter people's daily lives, which in turn will give strength to interest groups to coexist and assert their own power.

Translation: Thiago Masato Costa Sueto

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